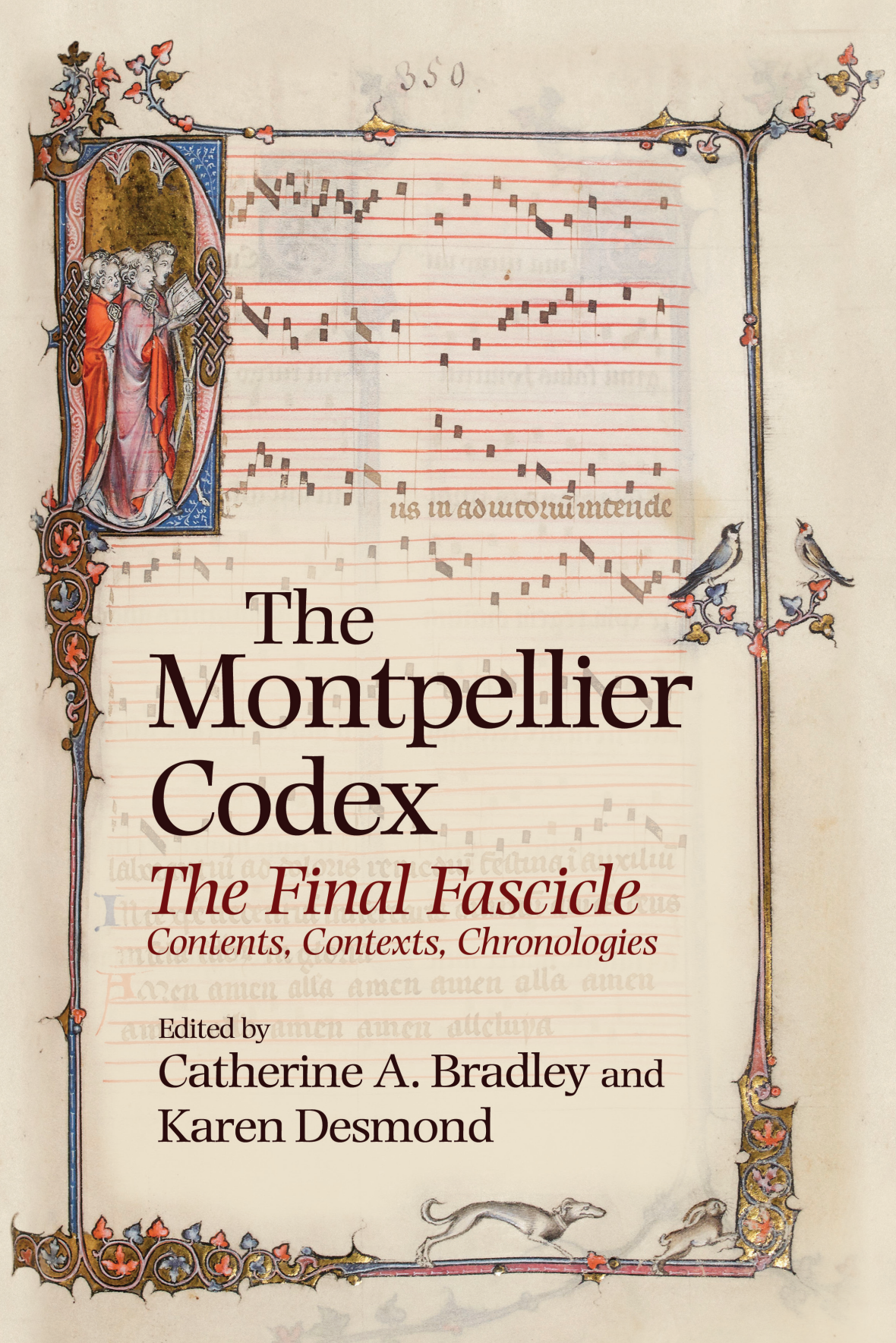


# The Montpellier Codex

## *The Final Fascicle*

### *Contents, Contexts, Chronologies*

Edited by

Catherine A. Bradley and Karen Desmond

VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.COM

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MUSIC 16

# The Montpellier Codex

# Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music

ISSN 1479-9294

*General Editors*
Tess Knighton
Helen Deeming

This series aims to provide a forum for the best scholarship in early music; deliberately broad in scope, it welcomes proposals on any aspect of music, musical life, and composers during the period up to 1600, and particularly encourages work that places music in an historical and social context. Both new research and major reassessments of central topics are encouraged.

Proposals or enquiries may be sent directly to the editors or the publisher at the addresses given below; all submissions will receive careful, informed consideration.

Professor Tess Knighton, Institucio Mila i Fontanals/CSIC,
c/ Egipciaques, Barcelona 08001, Spain

Dr Helen Deeming, Department of Music, Royal Holloway,
University of London, Egham, Surrey TW20 0EX

Boydell & Brewer, PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF

*Previously published titles in the series are listed at the back of this volume.*

# The Montpellier Codex
# The Final Fascicle
## Contents, Contexts, Chronologies

Edited by

Catherine A. Bradley
Karen Desmond

THE BOYDELL PRESS

© Contributors 2018

*All Rights Reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation
no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system,
published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast,
transmitted, recorded, or reproduced in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission of the copyright owner

First published 2018
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978-1-78327-272-3

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A CIP catalogue record for this title is available
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy
of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book,
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Typeset in Adobe Arno Pro by
Sparks Publishing Services Ltd—www.sparkspublishing.com

# Contents

Figures vii

Musical examples ix

Tables xi

Acknowledgements xii

List of manuscript sigla xiii

Abbreviations xv

Table of fascicle 8 contents xvi

Introduction 1
*Catherine A. Bradley and Karen Desmond*

**I THE MATERIAL OBJECT**

1. Montpellier 8: Anatomy of … 13
*Mark Everist*

2. A Palaeographical Analysis of the Verbal Text in Montpellier 8: Problems, Implications, Opportunities 32
*Sean Curran*

3. The Style and Iconography of Montpellier folio 350r 66
*Alison Stones*

4. The Decoration of Montpellier 8: Its Place in the Continuum of Parisian Manuscript Illumination 78
*Rebecca A. Baltzer*

5. Double Motet Layouts in the Montpellier Codex and Contemporaneous *Libri motetorum* 90
*Oliver Huck*

6. *Deus in adiutorium* Revisited: Sources and Contexts 100
*Eva M. Maschke*

7. Thematic Clusters and Compilational Strategies in Montpellier 8 121
*Anna Kathryn Grau*

**II INNOVATION AND TRADITION**

8. Texture, Rhythm, and Stylistic Groupings in Montpellier 8 Motets 139
*Karen Desmond*

9. *Je le temoin en mon chant*: The Art of Diminution in the Petronian Triplum 161
*David Maw*

10. How Rhythmically Innovative is Montpellier 8? 184
*Mary E. Wolinski*

11. Re-Presentation in the *Ars antiqua*: From Chant to Polyphony 197
*Solomon Guhl-Miller*

12. … *Que ne dit 'cief bien seans'*: Quoting Motets in Montpellier 8 211
*Anne Ibos-Augé*

**III ANALYTICAL CASE STUDIES**

13. Montpellier 8 *PORTARE* Motets and Tonal Exploration 233
*Dolores Pesce*

14. Repetitions, Rhythmical Evolution, and Rhetoric in the Montpellier Codex 254
*Margaret Dobby*

15. Shedding Light on **Mo** 8,304: *Alma virgo virginum/Benedicta es, Maria* 269
*Rachel Davies*

16. A Performance and Reception History of *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* 283
*Edward Breen*

Bibliography 299

Contributors 313

General index 315

Index of compositions, alphabetical 327

Index of compositions in **Mo**, manuscript order 331

# Figures


Figure 2.1 **Mo**, fol. 354r (photo: BIU Montpellier) 36

Figure 2.2 **Mo** 8, further sampler of script features (photos: BIU Montpellier) 40

Figure 3.1a **Mo** 8, fol. 350r, D, clerics chanting (photo: BIU Montpellier/DIAMM, University of Oxford) 67

Figure 3.1b **Mo**, fol. 1r, D, clerics chanting (photo: BIU Montpellier/IRHT [CNRS]) 67

Figure 3.2 **Mo**, fol. 350r, border: greyhound chasing hare (photo: BIU Montpellier/DIAMM, University of Oxford) 68

Figure 3.3 Santa Barbara, Special Collections BS75 1250, Bible, fol. 161r, Psalm 97, C, clerics chanting (photo: Alison Stones, by permission of the Department of Special Research Collections UCSB Library, University of California Santa Barbara, CA) 69

Figure 3.4 Private Collection, Psalter-Hours, fol. 242v, Psalm 119, A, clerics chanting (photo: Alison Stones, courtesy of the Emmanuel Boussard Library) 69

Figure 3.5 $\mathbf{W}_2$, fol. 31r, S, clerics chanting (photo: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, with permission) 70

Figure 3.6 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), n.a.l. 3145, Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, fol. 91v, St Louis at mass with clerics chanting (photo: BnF, with permission) 72

Figure 3.7 **Mo**, fol. 5v, V, Virgin and Child (photo: BIU Montpellier, with permission) 73

Figure 3.8a Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis-Aragon, 262, Bible, vol. 2, fol. 239v, Canticum canticorum, Virgin and Child (photo: Alison Stones, by permission of Le Mans) 74

Figure 3.8b Paris, BnF lat. 248, Bible of Philippe le Bel, fol. 495v, Canticum canticorum, Virgin and Child (photo: BnF, with permission) 74

Figure 3.9 Paris, BnF fr. 2030, Henri de Mondeville, *Chirurgie*, fol. 29, male and female internal organs (photo: BnF, with permission) 76

Figure 3.10 Ghent, Univ. Bibl. 233, Ceremonial of St Peter Blandin, fols 67v–68r, Crucifixion and Three Maries at the Sepulchre; T, Moses and the Brazen Serpent (photo: Ghent University Library, BHSL. HS.0233) 77

Figure 4.1 **Mo**, fol. 270r, top (photo: BIU Montpellier) 80

Figure 4.2 Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Solg. Ms. 4.4°, fol. 22r, Dormition of the Virgin (photo: Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg) 82

Figure 4.3 Paris, BnF lat. 248, Bible of Philippe le Bel, fol. 47v, initial for Exodus (photo: BnF) 85

Figure 4.4 Paris, BnF fr. 2090, fol. 1r (photo: BnF) 86

Figure 4.5 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 5122, fol. 291r (photo: Bibl. virtuelle des mss médiévaux (BVMM), licence CC BY NC 3.0) 87

Figure 5.1 Motet page layouts 91

Figure 7.1 Chiastic arrangement of motets in **Mo** 8 133

The editors, contributors, and publishers are grateful to all the institutions and persons listed for permission to reproduce the materials in which they hold copyright. Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders; apologies are offered for any omission, and the publishers will be pleased to add any necessary acknowledgement in subsequent editions.

# Musical examples


Example 8.1a **Mo** 8,329, longs 1–8, an example of a '334' profile 144
Example 8.1b **Mo** 8,317, longs 1–3, an example of a '135' profile 144
Example 8.2 **Mo** 8,342, longs 1–5, an example of a '235' profile 148
Example 9.1 'Lexicon' of Petronian groups in **Mo** 166–8
Example 9.2 Petronian groups in performance practice:
a. Added 4-groups in **Tu** 169
b. Apparent Petronian groups in the Vatican Organum Treatise 169
Example 9.3 Use of Petronian groups in **Mo** 8,317 171
Example 9.4 Declamatory use of SSBB:
a. Florid Petronian groups and SSBB in first phrase of **Mo** 7,264 173
b. SSBB in first two phrases of **Mo** 7,289/8,338 173
Example 9.5 Changing settings of repeated versification schemes:
a. Ninth and tenth phrases of **Mo** 7,299 176
b. First and second phrases of **Mo** 7,254 176
Example 9.6 Revisions to **Mo** 7,289 in **Mo** 8,338:
a. Comparison of texts of tenth phrase 178
b. Comparison of contrapuntal structures of tenth phrase 178
c. Comparison of syllabic rhythms of tenth phrase 178
d. Revision to final cadence of 289/338 178
Example 10.1 **Mo** 8,311, *Se je chante/Bien doi amer/ET SPERABIT*, fol. 358r 188
Example 10.2 **Mo** 8,332, *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM*, fol. 382v 188
Example 10.3 *Entitio* in the three ordines of Anonymous IV's imperfect sixth mode 194
Example 10.4 **Mo** 8,340, *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM*, fol. 393r 195
Example 11.1a Vatican Organum Treatise, fol. 48r, examples 237–9 200
Example 11.1b Transcription of the opening of *Iudea et Iherusalem*, **F**, fol. 65r 200
Example 11.2a Excerpt from *Au cuer/Ja ne m'en repentirai/JOLIETEMENT* (**Mo** 7,260), with variants 203
Example 11.2b Skeletal structure of excerpt from *Au cuer/Ja ne m'en repentirai/JOLIETEMENT* (**Mo** 7,260) 203
Example 11.3 Excerpt from *Descendit de caelis* (perfs 105–16) 206
Example 11.4 Perfections 1–9 and 27–30 of **Mo** 8,317 209
Example 12.1 *Par une matinee, el moys joli d'avril* in M896 and M807 (perfs 1–4) 217
Example 12.2 *Dame de valour* in M896 (perfs 14–19) and M363 (perfs 1–6) 217
Example 12.3 *Li dous penser* in M896 (perfs 30–2) and M881 (perfs 1–4) 218

Example 12.4 *Bien me doi* in M896 (perfs 33–5) and M611 (perfs 1–3) 218
Example 12.5 *Chele m'a tollu* and *Lonc tans a* in M901 (perfs 1–4 and 7–12) and M511 (perfs 1–5) 224
Example 12.6 *En grant effroi* in M901 (perfs 15–18) and M374 (perfs 1–4) 224
Example 12.7 *Maubatus longuement* in M901 (perfs 25–9) and M707 (perfs 1–3 and 12–13) 225
Example 12.8 *Sans penser folour* in M901 (perfs 50–3) and M890 (perfs 1–5) 225

Chapter 12 Appendix 1 Analysis of recurring elements in *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* 227
Chapter 12 Appendix 2 Analysis of recurring elements in *Au tans nouvel/ Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT* 228–30

Example 13.1 *Sustinere* from *Alleluia dulce lignum* (BnF lat. 1112, fol. 169v) 238
Example 13.2 **Mo** 7,296 reduction 239
Example 13.3 **Mo** 8,305 reduction 244–5
Example 13.4 **Mo** 8,335 reduction 248–51
Example 14.1 The opening of *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,275) 259
Example 14.2 The conclusion of *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,275) 261
Example 14.3 The opening of *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM* (**Mo** 8,332) 266
Example 15.1a The twenty-three pitches of **Mo** 304's tenor 272
Example 15.1b The *et amara* melisma from the Holy Saturday responsory *Plange quasi virgo*, Sarum Antiphonal, pl. 223 272
Example 15.1c The *et amara* melisma from the Holy Saturday responsory *Plange quasi virgo*, BnF lat. 15181, fol. 291r 272
Example 15.1d The melisma for the neuma for the eighth mode 272

# Tables


Table 1.1 Contents of **Mo** by fascicle 14
Table 1.2 **Mo** 8 works with concordances 18
Table 1.3 *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* concordances 19
Table 1.4 *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* concordances 20
Table 1.5 English compositions in **Mo** 8: Group 1 22
Table 1.6 English compositions in **Mo** 8: Group 2 22
Table 1.7 Repertoire of confraternity motets 26
Table 1.8 Motets using *Chose Tassin* and *Chose Loyset* tenors 28
Table 1.9 Motets with French song tenors and their use in upper parts 30
Table 2.1 Changes of pen and ink in **Mo** 8, fols 372r–381v (motets 322–331) 46
Table 5.1 Concordances with the final fascicle and their layouts 93
Table 6.1 Monophonic versions and transmission of the text of *Deus in adiutorium intende* 104
Table 6.2 Polyphonic versions of *Deus in adiutorium intende* 105
Table 7.1 Motet cluster in **Mo** 8 125
Table 7.2 Texts and translations of **Mo** 8,338/7,289 and **Mo** 8,343 132
Table 8.1 Rhythmic profiles of **Mo** 8 motets 142–3
Table 8.2 Styles of rhythmic motion that are found across the triplum and motetus parts of **Mo** 8 motets 151
Table 8.3 Rhythmic profiles of **Onc** 155
Table 8.4 Rhythmic profiles of **Tours** motets 156

Chapter 8 Appendix
Table 8.5a '233' Group 159
Table 8.5b '235' Group 159
Table 8.5c '223' Group 160
Table 8.5d '135' Group 160

Table 9.1 Statistical analysis of breve subdivision in tripla of Petronian motets in **Mo** 164
Table 10.1 The six rhythmic modes of Johannes de Garlandia 185
Table 10.2 First and second perfect and imperfect modes 190
Table 11.1 Melodic flourishes on weak beats in **Mo** 7 and 8 motets 202
Table 12.1 *Par une matinee* and its quotations 213
Table 12.2 M896 and its quotations: textual comparison 214–5
Table 12.3 *Chele m'a tollu* and its quotations 220
Table 12.4 M901 and its quotations: textual comparison 222–3
Table 14.1 Repetitions in the polyphony induced by the tenor 260
Table 16.1 First recordings of *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* (**Mo** 8,319) 285

# Acknowledgements

THIS volume derives from the two-day international conference *Montpellier 8*, which took place at St Hugh's College, Oxford on 20–21 March 2014. *Montpellier 8* was generously supported by the John Fell Oxford University Press Research Fund; the Faculty of Music, University of Oxford; St Hugh's College, Oxford; the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society; the Royal Musical Association; the Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature; and the University of Southampton. The publication of this volume has been made possible by awards from the Music and Letters Trust and the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society. Karen Desmond acknowledges the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, for a Research Fellowship in 2014. We also thank Pascaline Todeschini from the Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier.

We are enormously grateful to Elizabeth Eva Leach, who enabled and inspired the entire project. We especially thank all of the conference participants – speakers, chairs, delegates – and, in particular, Mark Everist for his keynote address, Margaret Bent and Emma Dillon for their generously given advice and support, and all those who offered invaluable practical and administrative assistance, especially Matthew Thomson. Caroline Palmer, at Boydell and Brewer, has provided unstinting support in the preparation of the current volume, and Helen Deeming was instrumental in shaping its form and conceptualization.

This volume owes everything to the essays of its contributors and we thank them warmly.

# List of manuscript sigla

| | |
|---|---|
| **ArsA** | Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135 |
| **Arras fragment** | Lost (copy in private collection viewed and catalogued by Friedrich Ludwig in 1906) |
| **Ba** | Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 115 |
| **Bes** | Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 716 |
| **Br** | Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 19606 |
| **Cambrai** | Cambrai, Médiathèque d'agglomération (formerly Bibliothèque municipale), B 1328; and Cambrai, Médiathèque d'agglomération, Inc. B 165 (fragments now bound in B 165 were part of B 1328) |
| **Cgc 512/543** | Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 512/543 |
| **Cl** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 13521, 'La Clayette manuscript' |
| **Da** | Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 3471 |
| **Douce** | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308 |
| **Douce 139** | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 139 |
| **DRc 20** | Durham, Cathedral Library, C. I. 20 |
| **F** | Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1 |
| **Fauv** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146, 'Interpolated Roman de Fauvel' |
| **Ha** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 25566, 'Adam de la Halle manuscript' |
| **Hu** | Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, II (formerly IX) |
| **Lbl Add 24198** | London, British Library, Add. 24198 |
| **LoA** | London, British Library, Egerton 2615 |
| **LoC** | London, British Library, Add. 30091 |
| **LoD** | London, British Library, Add. 27630 |
| **LoHa** | London, British Library, Harley 978 |
| **Ma** | Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, 20486 |
| **Mo** | Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque universitaire de médecine, H. 196 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **MüB** | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16444 (Musikfragmente E III 230–31) |
| **MüC** | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539 |
| **N** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615, 'Noailles chansonnier' |
| **Ob 7** | Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. 7 |
| **Ob 594** | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 594 |
| **Onc** | Oxford, New College Library, 362 |
| **ORawl** | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 400* |
| **R** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844, 'Manuscrit du Roi' |
| **Sl** | London, British Library, Sloane 1210 |
| **StV** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15139, 'Saint Victor manuscript' |
| **Tours** | Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 925 |
| **Trem** | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 23190, 'Trémoïlle manuscript' |
| **Trier C** | Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 322/1994 |
| **Tu** | Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Vari 42 (formerly part of E. X. 73/ H. 59) |
| **Vorau** | Vorau, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, 23 (Fragment 118D) |
| **$W_1$** | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (Heinemann no. 677) |
| **$W_2$** | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (Heinemann no. 1206) |
| **Worc** | Worcester, Cathedral Library, Add. 68; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Latin liturgical d. 20; and London, British Library, Add. 25031 |
| **Ym** | York, Minster Library, xvi. N. 3 |

# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Add. | Additional |
| Bibl. mun. | Bibliothèque municipale |
| BIU | Bibliothèque interuniversitaire |
| BL | British Library |
| BnF | Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| CH Anon 5 | Anonymous V (*De arte discantandi*) of Edmond Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen-age* (Paris, 1852), 262–273 |
| CPI | *Cantum pulcriorem invenire* conductus database (http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk) |
| DIAMM | Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (https://www.diamm.ac.uk) |
| *Gallica* | http://gallica.bnf.fr |
| lat. | latin |
| n.a.f. | nouvelles acquisitions françaises |
| n.a.l. | nouvelles acquisitions latines |
| PMFC | *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Éditions Oiseau-Lyre, Monaco) |
| RISM | Répertoire internationale des sources musicales |

# Table of fascicle 8 contents

Latin texts are highlighted in bold to allow for quick identification of Latin double motets and bilingual motets.
Numbers assigned in Ludwig (1910) 1964/Gennrich 1957 are given in square brackets.

| *No in **Mo*** | *Folio*[1] | *Gathering* | *Triplum* | *Motetus* | *Tenor* | *Concordances* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 303 | 350r | I | | | DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM | **Tu**; **Br** |
| 304 | 350v–351v | | **Alma virgo virginum** [927] | **Benedicta es, Maria** [928] | [TENOR] | |
| 305 | 351v–352v | | Mout ai longuement Amour [301] | Li dous maus d'amer [302] | PORTARE [M 22] | |
| 306 | 352v–353r | | **O presul eximie** [575] | **O virtutis speculum** [576] | SACERDOTUM [M 77] | |
| 307 | 353v–354v | | Dieus, comment porrai laissier [602] | **O regina glorie** [603] | NOBIS CONCEDAS [VENIAM PER SECULA] O BENIGNA [M 85] | |
| 308 | 355r–355v | | **Audi, mater generosa** [789] | **Imperatrix potentis gracie** [790] | NEUMA | |
| 309 | 355v–356v | | Par une matinee, el moys joli d'avril [896] | **O clemencie** [897] | D'UN JOLI DART | **Douce**; quoted in Anonymous of St Emmeram |
| 310 | 357r–357v | | **In sompnis, mira Dei nuncia monuerunt** [851/595a] | Amours me commande et prie [852/595b] | IN SOMPNIS [M 81] | |
| 311 | 357v–359v | II (begins fol. 358r) | Se je chante, ce fait Amour [514] | Bien doi amer mon ami [515] | ET SPERABIT [M 49] | |
| 312 | 359v–361r | | Au tans nouvel, que naissent flours [900] | Chele m'a tollu [901] | J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT | |
| 313 | 361v–362r | | L'autre jour me chevauchoie [902] | L'autrier, joiant et joli [903] | VILAIN LIEVE SUS O | |

[1] This foliation follows that established by Yvonne Rokseth in 1939; it corresponds to the ink numerals at the top centre of the manuscript (rather than the pencil foliation at the top right, which is two integers behind).

| *No in* ***Mo*** | *Folio*[1] | *Gathering* | *Triplum* | *Motetus* | *Tenor* | *Concordances* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 314 | 362r–363v | | Dieus, comment puet li cuers durer [929] | Vo vair oel m'ont espris [930] | TENOR | |
| 315 | 364r–364v | | **Porta preminentie [853]** | **Porta penitentie [854]** | PORTAS | |
| 316 | 364v–365v | | Se je sui liés et chantans [39] | Jolietement [40] | OMNES [M 1] | |
| 317 | 366r–367r | III | Aucun, qui ne sevent servir [777] | **Iure tuis laudibus [778]** | [VIRGO] MARIA [O 49] | |
| 318 | 367v–368v | | Tout solas et toute joie [894] | Bone Amour, qui les siens doctrine et aprent [895] | NE ME BLASMES MIE | **Tu** |
| 319 | 368v–369v | | On parole de batre et de vanner [904] | A Paris soir et matin [905] | FRESE NOUVELE MURE FRANCE MURE MURE FRANCE | |
| 320 | 369v–370v | | En mai, quant rosier florist [796] | J'ai trouvé, qui m'amera [795] | FIAT TENOR [O 50] | **Tu**; **N**; **StV** |
| 321 | 371r–371v | | De mes amours sui souvent repentis [898] | L'autrier m'estuet venue volenté [899] | DEFORS COMPIEGNE | **Douce** |
| 322 | 372r–373r | | **Marie assumptio** [931] | **Huius chori suscipe cantica [932]** | TENOR | |
| 323 | 373r–374r | | Li savours de mon desir [906] | Li grant desirs, qui j'ai de recouvrer [907] | NON VEUL MARI | |
| 324 | 374r–375r | IV | Quant se depart li jolis tans [207] | Hé, cuer joli! [208] | IN SECULUM [M 13] | |
| 325 | 375v–376v | | S'on me regarde [908] | Prennés i garde [909] | HÉ, MI ENFANT | |
| 326 | 376v–377v | | **Benedicta Marie virginis [409]** | **Beate virginis [410]** | BENEDICTA. TENOR [M 32] | |
| 327 | 377v–378r | | **Per omnia secula seculorum, Maria [626]** | **Per omnia seculorum, secula virgo [627]** | PER OMNIA SECULA | |
| 328 | 378v–379r | | **Amor potest conqueri [933]** | **Ad amorem sequitur [934]** | TENOR | |
| 329 | 379r–379v | | **Ave, mundi gaudium [742]** | **Ave, salus hominum [743]** | APTATUR. TENOR [O 45] | |
| 330 | 379v–381r | | **Virginale decus et presidium [769]** | **Descendi in [h]ortum meum [767]** | ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER] [O 47] | **Mo** 7; **Ba**; **Da**; **ArsA**; **Lo**D |

| *No in* ***Mo*** | *Folio*[1] | *Gathering* | *Triplum* | *Motetus* | *Tenor* | *Concordances* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 331 | 381r–381v | | **Descendo Dominus** [**815**] | **Ascendendo Dominus** [**816**] | DOMINO | |
| 332 | 382r–383v | V | Je cuidoie bien metre [703] | Se j'ai folement amé [704] | SOLEM [O 19] | |
| 333 | 383v–385r | | Amours m'a pris; deffendre ne me doi [909a] | Bien me maine bone Amour [909b] | RIENS NE VOUS VAUT | |
| 334 | 385v–386v | | A maistre Jehan lardier [269] | Pour la plus jolie [270] | ALLELUYA [M 22] | |
| 335 | 386v–388r | | Cis a petit de bien en li [303] | Pluseur dient, que j'aim par amours [304] | PORTARE [M 22] | |
| 336 | 388r–389r | | Puisqu'en amer loiaument me sui mis [209] | Quant li jolis tans doit entrer [210] | IN SECULUM [M 13] | **Arras frag** |
| 337 | 389r–390r | | Dame, que je n'os noumer [909c] | Amis, donc est engenree [909d] | LONC TANS A QUE NE VI M'AMIE | |
| 338 | 390r–391v | VI | Amours, qui si me maistrie [701] | **Solem iusticie leticie** [**702**] | SOLEM [O 19] | **Mo** 7 |
| 339 | 392r–393v | | **Alle psallite cum luya** [**584**] | **Alle psallite cum luya** [**584**] | ALLELUYA [M 78a] | **Worc** frag xxviii; **Worc** frag xxxv; **ORawl** |
| 340 | 392v–393v | | **Balam inquit vaticinans** [**594**] | **Balam inquit vaticinans** [**594**] | BALLAAM [M 81] | **Onc** |
| 341 | 393v–394v | | **Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica** [**595**] | **Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica** [**595**] | [HUIC MAGI] [M 81] | **Onc** |
| 342 | 394v–395r | | Qui d'amours n'a riens gousté [577] | Tant me plaist Amour servir [578] | VIRGA YESSE [M 78] | |
| 343 | 395v–396r | | **Virginis eximie celebrantur** [**705**] | **N[o]stra salus oritur** [**706**] | CERNERE [O 19] | |
| 344 | 396v–397r | | **O castitatis lilium** [**624**] | **Assumpta in gloria** [**625**] | KYRIELEISON | |
| 345 | 397r–397v | | La bele estoile de mer [389] | La bele, en qui [388] | IOHANNE. TENOR [M 29] | **Mo** 2; **W**$_2$; **MüB**; **Ba** |

# Introduction

CATHERINE A. BRADLEY AND KAREN DESMOND

One of the most important manuscript witnesses to polyphonic music in the Middle Ages resides in the library of Montpellier's historic medical school. The so-called Montpellier codex (Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque universitaire de médecine, H. 196, hereafter **Mo**) is modest in dimensions,[1] but it contains the largest medieval motet collection in existence,[2] and is packed with gorgeous gold-leaf illuminations, historiated initials, decorative borders, and exquisite music calligraphy. Unsurprisingly, this comprehensive and beautiful manuscript has long attracted scholarly attention and the details of its production are, in the main, well established and widely accepted. It seems that the earliest layer of the book – commonly referred to as **Mo**'s 'old corpus' – was produced in Paris in the late 1270s or 1280s. This old corpus comprises four internal fascicles (numbers 2–6), discrete sections of the manuscript usually devoted to certain musical genres or stylistic types, with the opening of each new fascicle clearly signaled by a historiated initial. **Mo**'s old corpus was later bookended by two additional fascicles (numbers 1 and 7), probably in the 1290s.[3] But the last stage in **Mo**'s compilation, and the status of its final fascicle – number 8, containing forty-three three-voice compositions – remains mysterious and contested. Most scholars agree that the forty-eight folios appended to the end of **Mo** must be chronologically later than the rest of the codex, but just how much later is still in question. Intriguingly, the contents of fascicle 8 straddle a crucial historiographical juncture: alongside examples of the established thirteenth-century motet tradition represented by the earlier parts of **Mo**, fascicle 8 features musical and notational techniques conventionally associated with newer practices. Why and at what date was fascicle 8 produced? Was it intended to be part of **Mo** from the outset? And how and why might this eclectic collection of different types of compositions – some perceptibly outmoded, others noticeably innovative – have come about? The essays in this volume engage with these fundamental questions, challenging and undercutting a still pervasive historiographical division between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the study of medieval music.

A slight section of a single manuscript – albeit a provocative and little understood one – **Mo** 8 might seem an unusual subject for book-length investigation. Yet the fascicle merits detailed consideration on its own terms, not only because of its idiosyncratic contents and historiographical status but also because of the manner of its presentation within **Mo**. Fascicle 8 opens with a musical setting of the liturgical versicle *Deus in adiutorium*, a conventional gesture to mark the beginning

[1] At 192 × 136mm **Mo** is just smaller than an A5 page.

[2] **Mo** records 337 individual musical compositions, 327 of which are motets.

[3] Supplements (or appendices) were also added to fascicles 3 and 5 at this time. The status of fascicle 7's two later supplements is discussed in detail by Everist in Chapter 1; see also n. 6 below.

of a motet book and one employed also at the outset of **Mo**'s first fascicle.[4] This choice of opening piece asserts fascicle 8's identity as an autonomous collection. At the same time, however, the historiated initial contained within the letter 'D' underlines the fascicle's connection to the rest of the codex. Alison Stones draws attention to the fact that, although the initial is painted by an artist whose decorations are exclusive to fascicle 8, it closely resembles the three singing clerics that appear within the 'D' of *Deus in adiutorium* at the outset of **Mo**. The arrangement of the singing figures, their red silk copes, and the highly unusual folding lectern upon which their music book rests create a symmetry between the historiated initials of fascicles 1 and 8 (see Figure 3.1a and 3.1b).[5] The circumstances of fascicle 8's opening *Deus in adiutorium* encapsulate its complex relationship to the earlier parts of the manuscript, a relationship explored from a variety of perspectives in this volume. The beginning of the fascicle simultaneously signals its profound independence from – yet awareness of – **Mo** as a whole.

In many respects, it is an impression of independence that prevails in fascicle 8. Its forty-eight folios are copied by a single scribe, whose work – just like that of the illuminator's – is found exclusively in this section of the codex. Significantly, **Mo** begins with an index that lists the contents only of fascicles 1–7, according with the series of folio numbers that spans the first seven fascicles, inked in Roman numerals and centred in the top margin.[6] Fascicle 8 not only did not receive this Roman foliation, but it bears traces of a self-contained Arabic sequence, positioned top right, and running from 1 to 48.[7] Although Mary E. Wolinski has argued convincingly that the Arabic numerals are in a later (fifteenth- or sixteenth-century) hand, the fact that fascicle 8 ever received a separate foliation is telling, particularly when coupled with its absence from the index.[8] It is far from certain, therefore, that fascicle 8 was intended simply to be an additional 'part' of the larger codex, prior to **Mo**'s current seventeenth- or eighteenth-century binding.[9] Furthermore, at whatever point the various layers of **Mo** were trimmed and joined together, all of fascicle 8's illustrative borders survived carefully intact, while fascicles 1–7 – presumably trimmed to match the comparatively smaller folios of fascicle 8 – lost some of their outlying decorations.[10] This suggests that fascicle 8 had already been trimmed by itself

[4] Paradoxically, this conventional opening for a motet book, *Deus in adiutorium*, is the only non-motet in fascicle 8. It more closely resembles a conductus (with its monotextual presentation and lack of a plainchant tenor).

[5] See Stones's discussion of the rare folding lectern on pp. 68–71.

[6] This Roman foliation terminates before the two supplements to fascicle 7, whose contents are also absent from the index. In Chapter 1, Everist discusses these supplements to fascicle 7 alongside the contents of fascicle 8, considering them to be broadly contemporary. Stones, however, believes decorations in the supplements to fascicle 7 and in fascicle 8 to be the work of different artists (see p. 75 n. 14).

[7] Most of these Arabic folio numbers have been trimmed away, but the sequence 10–12 on fols 359r–361r is still clearly visible.

[8] See Wolinski 1992, 287–8.

[9] See Baltzer's discussion of the binding and its date on pp. 78–9.

[10] This is Baltzer's observation: see her discussion on p. 78 and the list of examples in p. 78 n. 5.

before it was joined with the rest of the manuscript: if the various layers of **Mo** had all been trimmed at once, this would presumably have been done more generously, to better accommodate fascicles 1–7.

Fascicle 8's autonomy is further underlined by its musical contents, which are predominantly unique to the collection in question. Just twelve of the fascicle's forty-three pieces are recorded elsewhere; only two of these are widely disseminated; and no other extant manuscript shares more than three works with fascicle 8.[11] This stands in sharp contrast to the immediately preceding fascicle in **Mo**, in which the situation is effectively reversed: thirty-two out of thirty-nine motets have external witnesses outside fascicle 7, whose repertoire overlaps substantially with that presented in other motet collections.[12] Fascicle 8's unprecedented lack of concordances and connections – in the context of **Mo** and of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music manuscripts more broadly – suggests that the circumstances and motivations for its compilation were unusual. It seems likely that the fascicle did not draw on any existing large-scale or formally arranged collection but instead attempted to gather together diverse works that were not widely available elsewhere. This accords with understandings of the copying process and page layout presented here by Sean Curran and Oliver Huck, in which fascicle 8's scribe seems to be grappling with the format of different exemplars. A hypothesis of differently formatted and variously sourced exemplars also fits with the stylistic diversity of the fascicle's contents, as does its inclusion of three compositions that are attested only in fourteenth-century English manuscripts and were probably of English origin.[13] The creators of fascicle 8 evidently had a wide variety of materials at their disposal. Given the striking paucity of additional manuscript witnesses, it seems plausible that they consciously selected and sought to preserve works that they recognized as rare and unusual.

Paradoxically, the lack of duplication between fascicle 8 and the rest of **Mo** might in fact link the fascicle more closely to its host codex. Three motets in fascicle 8 are also found earlier in **Mo**. This is a considerable overlap by fascicle 8's own standards, but given the very large quantity of material recorded in **Mo** fascicles 1–7 it is a remarkably small number. Furthermore, two fascicle 7 motets that re-appear in fascicle 8 do so in noticeably different forms, one with a different top-voice or triplum (musically more modern and with a contrafact text) and the other also musically revised.[14] Significantly, the single motet in fascicle 8 that replicates earlier material is the fascicle's most widely disseminated work: found in a four-part version in **Mo**'s old corpus (fascicle 2), it is reproduced (now in three parts) as the codex's closing item. An awareness of the contents of **Mo** 1–7 in the preparation of fascicle 8 is in line with the kinship between the opening historiated initials in fascicles 1 and 8, but it complicates other indications of fascicle 8's autonomy. Does this mean that fascicle 8 was, from its conception, intended to follow fascicles 1–7 of

[11] See Everist's list of concordances in Table 1.2, p. 18.

[12] **Mo** 7 has seventeen works in common with **Ba** and sixteen with **Tu**.

[13] See Everist, pp. 21–4, and Grau, pp. 135–6.

[14] See Maw, pp. 176–8. Maw proposes a progressive chronology of the Petronian style that spans the compositions of fascicles 7 and 8.

**Mo**, its traces of independent foliation simply a red herring and its 'opening' *Deus in adiutorium* a conceit? It seems more likely that fascicle 8 was meant to begin a new book, one deliberately fashioned in the same mould, perhaps as a sort of independent companion or successor to **Mo**, which never came to fruition.

Connections to other parts of **Mo** beg the question as to when and where fascicle 8 was produced: by a different scribe and artist but in close chronological and geographical proximity to the rest of the codex; or, alternatively, at sufficient distance (in either or both respects) to account for the independence of contents. The likely Parisian provenance of fascicle 8, along with the rest of **Mo**, is not directly challenged here. Mark Everist's identification of **Mo** 8 as an important witness to a group of motets linked to Parisian confraternities, for instance, suggests an origin and reception in Paris for at least this portion of the fascicle's repertoire.[15] However, certain findings presented in the current volume indicate that **Mo** 8 may not be a typical or purely Parisian production. It is telling that efforts by Rebecca Baltzer and Alison Stones to find the work of fascicle 8's artist in a very wide range of Parisian books have not yielded any definitive match, and this has encouraged Stones to moot here the possibility that the fascicle travelled north for its decoration. Karen Desmond has aligned the rhythmic behaviour of fascicle 8's motets with early fourteenth-century English collections, and techniques of modal rhythm explored by Mary E. Wolinski similarly feature in sources and theoretical documents of English provenance.

This volume, therefore, opens up for further discussion the question of fascicle 8's geographical origins, and those of its exemplars. It also offers firmer and important new evidence concerning the date of **Mo** 8. Stones proposes that the fascicle was decorated between 1315 and 1325, while – also on art historical grounds – Baltzer favours a date in the 1310s, probably early in that decade. These hypotheses are broadly compatible with Curran's tentative ascription of a slightly earlier date, somewhere between 1290 and 1310, for the fascicle's scribal hand, based on a comprehensive comparison of hands found in dated and datable manuscripts of French, and particularly Parisian, origin.

A date in the fourteenth century for the production of fascicle 8 is significant, since none of the earlier parts of **Mo** are considered to be any younger than the late thirteenth century. This later, fourteenth-century, dating is supported by both the fascicle's contents and its layout. Fascicle 8's rare concordances are chiefly found in other fourteenth-century sources.[16] In addition, as Oliver Huck demonstrates, the final fascicle frequently employs a page design that is found nowhere else in **Mo** – or indeed in any extant thirteenth-century collection – but which is commonly used in polyphonic books and rotuli dating no earlier than the late 1310s.[17] This '**Mo** 8 layout', as Huck calls it, accommodates a stylistically and notationally 'advanced' feature of the motet repertoire, allowing more space for a fast-moving triplum that features many more notes and syllables of text than its accompanying lower voices.

[15] Everist also suggests, however, that at least one of these so-called confraternity motets may be linked to Arras: see pp. 27–8.

[16] **Tu**; **Onc**; **Worc**; **Da**; **Br**.

[17] See Huck's discussion on pp. 90–4.

Three of fascicle 8's motets employ an innovative 'Petronian' notation – characteristic of compositions ascribed to Petrus de Cruce – in which a short note (or breve) may be divided into as many as seven constituent parts.[18]

Admittedly, a circumscribed time span for **Mo**'s Petronian motets is difficult to establish.[19] Outside fascicle 8, Petronian motets are prominently in evidence in **Mo** 7 (copied in the 1290s): **Mo** 7 opens with two pieces of this type and contains four in total (with a further three in its supplements). Another important source for the Petronian repertoire is a manuscript from Liège, **Tu**, considered on artistic grounds to date from the mid 1320s–mid 1330s. **Tu** is the external source with which fascicle 8 has most in common, sharing three concordances, a circumstance that would seem to reinforce a fourteenth-century date for fascicle 8 also. In fact, however, similarities between **Tu** and **Mo** 7 are the more significant, despite their potential chronological distance of four decades or more: sixteen of the thirty-one motets in **Tu** are also recorded in **Mo**'s seventh fascicle.

To explain this curious circumstance, it might be tempting to argue for a later date for **Mo** 7, one closer to or even contemporary with that proposed here for **Mo** 8.[20] Yet, in addition to the palaeographical, artistic, and codicological evidence (as well as fascicle 7's inclusion within the index to **Mo**), other musical features confirm fascicle 8's status as undeniably later than fascicle 7: its 'up-dated' versions of two fascicle 7 motets; certain advanced modal rhythmic devices as analysed here by Mary E. Wolinski that are absent from fascicle 7 (*entitio* and a special binary form of the third rhythmic mode);[21] the exploration of large-scale structural devices in some fascicle 8 motets that foreshadow *Ars nova* techniques;[22] the 'deliberate

[18] Bent 2015, 39–43, makes the case for a more neutral descriptor for the notational style that incorporates more than three unstemmed semibreves per breve, suggesting 'post-Franconian' as a preferable term to 'Petronian'. She rightly observes that two fourteenth-century theorists (Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*, and Robertus de Handlo) attribute the practice of subdividing the breve into more than seven semibreves to someone other than Petrus de Cruce (both theorists cite the exemplary motet *Aucun ont trouvé*, and specifically attribute it to Petrus, who they say sometimes notated up to seven semibreves per breve). With reference to the small subset of motets that employ this notational style in **Mo**, this volume maintains the more traditional (and better-known) descriptor of 'Petronian', while acknowledging its limitations.

[19] The notation that distinguishes the Petronian repertoire found in **Mo** 7, **Mo** 8, and **Tu** – that is, more than three unstemmed semibreves per breve, with the semibreve groupings separated by dots of division – is found in a variety of fourteenth-century sources, including **Fauv**, and a number of English sources. For a partial listing of these sources and a brief discussion of the 'English' Petronian motets identified by Peter Lefferts, see the essays in this volume by Desmond (pp. 153–8) and Maw (p. 168 n. 16).

[20] Maw suggests (pp. 179–81) that the sequence of Petronian motets in **Mo** may reflect a chronology, but notes the significance of the fact that these pieces were not simply grouped together. This again substantiates the claim that fascicle 8 constitutes a later layer.

[21] On these modal techniques, see Chapter 10 by Wolinski, especially pp. 194–6.

[22] For example, see **Mo** 8,311, **Mo** 8,312, and **Mo** 8,332.

tonal shaping' of the two fascicle 8 motets examined by Dolores Pesce;[23] and the unusual group of motets based on French song tenors that in some ways, as previously demonstrated by Everist, prefigure the fourteenth-century chanson, albeit in a polytextual form.[24]

Chronologically counter-intuitive connections between sources of the Petronian repertoire underline the potential complexity of relationships between the probable date of production of a manuscript and the age of its contents. Palaeographical and art historical evidence is clearly vital in establishing reasonable chronological parameters, though it can be misleading too: manuscripts may wait or travel to be decorated, and an aged scribe could continue to write in an 'old-fashioned' hand. Yet the very nature of a compilation like **Mo** 8 seems itself to defy chronological specificity. Fascicle 8 is notably eclectic in the style and type of works it contains: there are French, Latin, and bilingual motets; motets based on vernacular chansons, as well as those with Latin plainchant tenors of different kinds (some conventional chant segments with a long history of liturgical polyphonic composition, others more freely selected); and Petronian motets sitting alongside Latin double motets in straightforward modal rhythm. Admittedly, as Curran observes, the script is less formal and less consistent than that of the main text scribe of fascicles 2–6, and the fascicle lacks any discernible overarching ordering principle.[25] Yet the collection does not appear simply to be haphazard. As noted above, fascicle 8 opens self-consciously with a *Deus in adiutorium*. Its choice of closing work seems significant too. This is the fascicle's most widely disseminated motet, and its only straightforward duplication of an earlier piece in **Mo**, significantly one within the old corpus. The anomalous duplication allows fascicle 8 to close with what appears to be its most historic and most famous composition, perhaps as a final nod to past traditions, maybe even specifically as represented by earlier layers of **Mo**.

Fascicle 8's self-conscious positioning within broader musical conventions and traditions is strongly evident in an unprecedented process of quotation in two of its unique motets, which – as Anne Ibos-Augé demonstrates here – effectively create an intricate dialogue between the old and the new. In a novel and idiosyncratic compositional approach, these two fascicle 8 motets creatively combine musico-textual fragments of motets preserved earlier in **Mo** (in fascicles 3 and 5 of the old corpus, as well as in fascicle 7). Apart from a reference to one motet that survives uniquely in **Tu**, most of the quoted pieces are quite widely disseminated, and all are found in other fascicles of **Mo**. Given the scope of **Mo**, the presence of almost all quoted materials earlier in this manuscript is perhaps unsurprising, although it could constitute a further connection specifically between fascicle 8 and the rest of the codex. More certain is the fact that the two quoting motets – whose compositional process seems to be exclusive to **Mo** 8 – engage with an existing body of works, and they

[23] See Pesce's analysis of **Mo** 8,305 and **Mo** 8,335 in Chapter 13.

[24] See the examples discussed in Everist 2007, esp. 374–80 (on **Mo** 8,318), 380–2 (on **Mo** 8,309), and 390–8 (on **Mo** 8,325).

[25] See Chapter 2 by Curran, esp. pp. 44–5.

appear actively to invoke their musical heritage. By extension, therefore, it seems possible that certain of the unique Latin double motets contained in fascicle 8, which would be at home within the earlier fascicles of **Mo** but are notably absent there, could in fact be new compositions in a retrospective style.[26]

An interest in tradition and retrospection, as well as in novelty, is especially striking in **Mo** 8 because it occurs within the very short space of a single fascicle. However, the combination of chronological diverse materials, as well as a layered, fascicular construction, is characteristic of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century polyphonic sources more generally. The so-called *Magnus liber* manuscripts of the early and mid thirteenth century are more generically diverse than **Mo** – with individual fascicles devoted to organa, conducti, motets, and so on – but they similarly encompass a chronologically broad span. For instance, **F**, the earliest surviving source to contain motet fascicles and dated to the 1240s, records organa that must have been at least half a century old at the time of copying. However, the appearance of **F**, whose eleven fascicles were all copied by a single scribe and in an essentially consistent notational style, is a much more uniform one.[27] And, as a project, the copying of **F** seems more chronologically circumscribed and carefully controlled than **Mo**. **Mo** effectively marks the end of the earlier thirteenth-century tradition of the 'great book', an undertaking whose appearance of uniformity became more difficult to sustain as the available written repertoire inevitably increased in size and chronological breadth, and as notational and musical styles diversified.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, later thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century sources of motets tended be more modest in scale: the late thirteenth-century Bamberg motet book, with its seemingly self-limited group of exactly one hundred compositions, for instance, or the even smaller collection of ten works copied on both sides of the early fourteenth-century Brussels rotulus (**Br**). There is only one surviving complete motet manuscript from the early fourteenth century that is comparable in scale and ambition to **F** or **Mo**: the painstakingly planned copy of the *Roman de Fauvel* (**Fauv**), produced c.1317–22, in which monophonic and polyphonic music was interpolated within an allegorical narrative poem.[28] Fascicle 8 is potentially an autonomous unit, yet it is surely too slight to have been bound by itself, but too high-grade to have circulated unbound. The organization of its contents and codicology reflects an important transitional moment in the production of motet manuscripts, somewhere between the 'great books' tradition of the thirteenth century and the less comprehensive and fundamentally different types of collections that became characteristic of the early fourteenth.

[26] As hypothesized by Desmond: see p. 145.

[27] $\mathbf{W_1}$, **F**, and $\mathbf{W_2}$ exclusively use modal or unmeasured rhythm, and never employ mensural or Petronian notation.

[28] The Las Huelgas codex (**Hu**) could be potentially added to this list. Although not of the same scope as **F**, **Mo**, or **Fauv**, **Hu** had – according to its contemporaneous foliation – at least 164 folios (of which 157 are now extant). Taking fragmentary sources into account, both **Worc** and **Cambrai** also represent sizeable collections that probably date from the first half of the fourteenth century, although **Cambrai** may be a little later.

In this respect, **Mo** 8's closest comparand is the later **Tu**, essentially also a single fascicle, about equal in size, opening with the same *Deus in adiutorium*, containing motets in similar styles to **Mo** (though many fewer unica), of which several employ Petronian notation.[29] Both **Mo** 8 and **Tu** could have been intended to begin monumental collections of the older thirteenth-century sort, projects that then became unfeasible or unfashionable. Or perhaps, even as they were being copied, the fate of these smaller collections was already uncertain, and they were retrospective imitations of, or attempts to revive, a tradition that had already declined. That this tradition languished may explain the difficulties of contextualizing **Mo** 8, of locating elsewhere its artist, its scribe, and the vast majority of its musical compositions.

The idea of fascicle 8 as transitional, and as a historically aware collection at a complex moment of historical change, accords powerfully with many of its characteristics. How, for instance, was the short-lived and essentially transitional Petronian notation regarded at the time of fascicle 8's production? The possibly contemporaneous interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* demonstrates that some notators already employed a slightly more advanced form of this notational technology – with the addition of downward stems to semibreves and the use of colour – ahead of a more thorough overhaul of the notational system that took place in the 1320s and 1330s. Fascicle 8 straddles (and in many ways exemplifies) a period of pronounced flux in musical notations, layouts, types of music manuscripts, and musical styles. In consequence, the creators of the fascicle – with access to diverse exemplars and drawing together a wide variety of often unusual materials – may themselves have been uncertain of its future, unsure as to how the fascicle would circulate (alone, with the rest of **Mo**, or as the start of a new companion codex) and how exactly it would be put to use.

Uncertainties and ambiguities surrounding the production of fascicle 8 itself would account for the difficulties faced by scholars in arriving at definitive conclusions about its chronological position and purpose. The current volume engages with existing hypotheses about the production and function of **Mo** 8 from a variety of perspectives, as well as advancing new ones. It offers much-needed palaeographical, art historical, codicological, and notational analyses, in addition to musical and hermeneutic close-readings of individual compositions and groups of compositions. Mark Everist's opening essay lays out the contents of fascicle 8, considers the idiosyncrasies of its organization, and identifies the sub-groups and musical types contained within it. This sets the scene for a detailed examination of **Mo** 8 as a material object. Sean Curran presents a close palaeographical study of the fascicle, while Rebecca A. Baltzer and Alison Stones consider the manuscript's artist, and Oliver Huck focuses on its page layout. Eva M. Maschke's chapter reflects on the tradition and transmission of *Deus in adiutorium* as an opening piece, proposing that the use of this versicle evokes a paraliturgical heritage of clerics' Offices at Christmastide. Fascicle 8's position with regard to Christmas paraliturgical festivities is developed further in Anna Kathryn Grau's study of a cluster of motets for Epiphany that are suggestive of a devotional context, at least for their exemplar.

[29] **Tu** was later bound within a composite source (whose four parts are now separated) at the Benedictine Abbey of St Jacques in Liège. See Maschke, pp. 113–18.

The second part of the volume is thematic, dissecting and contextualizing specific techniques associated with fascicle 8 motets. Karen Desmond and David Maw examine **Mo** 8's most modern characteristics: Desmond aligns particular subsets of motets and their innovations in rhythm and texture with other motet collections such as **Onc** and **Tours**, while Maw establishes that the Petronian figurations are not simply ornamental elaborations, but are fundamental expressions of a strange and subversive musical style. Mary E. Wolinski considers the fascicle from the opposite perspective, situating its rhythmic techniques in the context of the older thirteenth-century repertoire recorded earlier in **Mo**, while still highlighting the fact that **Mo** 8 preserves the codex's most innovative rhythmic practices. Solomon Guhl-Miller likewise advocates for the status of fascicle 8 as part of the *Ars antiqua* tradition, emphasizing the improvisatory aspects of fascicle 8 motets that seem closer to the flexibility of musical performance in organa, a flexibility later curtailed by the increasing specificity of *Ars nova* notation. Ideas of tradition and innovation in **Mo** 8 are further addressed in Anne Ibos-Augé's study of two refrain motets which newly draw on and recast quotations from older and contemporaneous motets.

The volume concludes with a series of case studies (each focused on a different motet tenor) that offer productive models for further analysis of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century music. Both Dolores Pesce and Margaret Dobby draw parallels between fascicle 8 and fascicle 7 motets that share the same tenor plainchant foundations. On the one hand, Pesce highlights the carefully cultivated tonal coherence of *PORTARE* motets in both fascicles. On the other, Dobby outlines contrasting compositional processes in fascicles 7 and 8 motets on the *SOLEM* tenor. Rachel Davies offers an interpretative reading of a Marian motet on an unidentified tenor in fascicle 8, considering various plainchant matches for this tenor melody, as well as possible liturgical and hermeneutic contexts. A closing chapter by Edward Breen brings the consideration of fascicle 8 motets up to the present day, examining four recordings of the famous motet *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* – based not on a Latin liturgical melody but on the Parisian street cry of a vendor selling fresh strawberries – and reflecting on changing interpretations and understandings of the sounds of the Montpellier codex.

*The Montpellier Codex: The Final Fascicle* aims to foster further discussion and deeper understanding of a particularly significant and little understood moment in the history of music: the juncture between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which new musical notations and styles emerged and coexisted alongside established ones. The volume allows different disciplinary approaches to fascicle 8 and **Mo** to coexist, encouraging various perspectives of the fascicle as an object and of its contents, of its relative modernity, of its relationship to the rest of **Mo** (and specifically to fascicle 7), and of its position within broader historical, artistic, and codicological contexts. The sharp focus of this study results in many common threads between the various essays, which often offer a new point of view on a particular piece or technique. In the case of *Amours/Solem/SOLEM*, for instance – one of just two motets copied in both fascicles 7 and 8 (**Mo** 7,289 and 8,332) – Huck analyses the layout of both versions, Grau considers the motet's position as part of a liturgically ordered cluster in fascicle 8, while Maw examines the Petronian notation

and musical variants between versions, and Dobby addresses questions of compositional process in the context of other **Mo** 7 and 8 motets on the *SOLEM* tenor.

As a topic of enquiry, fascicle 8 lends itself particularly well to this discursive approach, since the very circumstances and production of the fascicle and its heterogeneous contents and seem to resist straightforward codicological, chronological, and stylistic conclusions. By foregrounding a small, seemingly anomalous, and transitional fascicle, rather than a complete manuscript source, this volume seeks to redress the scholarly balance, which has tended to privilege the almost exclusive study of monumental 'great books' in their entirety. The final fascicle of the Montpellier codex offers a rich and productive basis to engage with broader historical and artistic questions of material culture, book production, and decoration in the Middle Ages, illuminating a complex sense of past and present, old and new, at the turn of the thirteenth century into the fourteenth.

# I

# THE MATERIAL OBJECT

CHAPTER 1

# Montpellier 8: Anatomy of …

MARK EVERIST

The later parts of the Montpellier codex are fascinating in so many ways. First of all, the complexity of exactly how these later parts – the seventh fascicle, the two appendices or supplements for the seventh fascicle, and the eighth fascicle – relate to each other is in itself a conundrum; second, these later fascicles and their supplements effortlessly hurdle the entirely false chronological barrier of 1300 erected by the term 'thirteenth-century motet'; and, third, the later parts of the manuscript contain such a profusion, an abundance, a cornucopia, of different types of work. This essay brings together for the first time answers to the most important questions that might be asked about **Mo** 8. Some of these relate to topics addressed elsewhere in this volume, but in most other cases, sketching out the questions and drafting answers is this essay's purpose. The title of this chapter could well allude to Otto Preminger's 1959 classic film *Anatomy of a Murder*, with a stellar performance by James Stewart and an equally stellar score by Duke Ellington and Billy Strahorn, music that has been recognized for its effective alignment of various strands in Ellington's late œuvre.[1] Alternatively, it might reference the 2006 album *The Anatomy of* by the thrash metal band Between the Buried and Me, which covers more than a dozen classics from Pink Floyd, through King Crimson and Metallica, to The Smashing Pumpkins and Counting Crows.[2] But actually, anatomy, *tout court*, describes what **Mo** 8 needs, as well as defining music that brings various traditions into alignment and that provides, in some cases, 'covers' of medieval classics: disassembling the component parts of the corpus and setting them out on a stainless steel dissecting table – a tenor here, a refrain there, a group of 'Petronian' semibreves over there – at which a dispassionate look may be taken, and of which some sense can begin to be made.

Recent work on the subject of the history of **Mo** in its entirety has shown that Robert Branner's 1977 re-shading of Friedrich Ludwig and Yvonne Rokseth's views remains largely accepted. Ludwig and Rokseth – for different reasons and probably independently – proposed that the first six fascicles of the manuscript constituted its *corpus ancien* or *alte Corpus*, while the seventh fascicle was later and the eighth even later still, perhaps as late as the early fourteenth century.[3] Branner's recalibration of the make-up of the volume argued that fascicles 1 and 7 were coterminous.[4] Although their contents are of course very different, what we now understand about the reception and continued practice of sustained-tone organum at the end of the thirteenth century makes it much easier to accept that the contents of the

[1] See Domek 2012. For a broader examination of Ellington's film output, see Cooke 2009.

[2] Between the Buried and Me have left little trace in the literature on heavy metal. See, however, Wagner and Wilson, 2010, 125–8.

[3] Ludwig (1910) 1964; Ludwig 1972; Ludwig 1978; Rokseth 1935–9, 4:30.

[4] Branner 1977, 238.

first fascicle could date from the same period as the seventh.[5] There is very little that has changed in the overall physiognomy of the manuscript (outlined in Table 1.1) and its history in the intervening forty years.

But fine-tuning, testing, and re-contextualizing these earlier findings have occupied some of the best-known names in art history and musicology: Rokseth herself, Branner, François Avril,[6] Eleanor Simmons,[7] Mary Wolinski,[8] Catherine Parsoneault,[9] Rebecca Baltzer, and Alison Stones.[10] Almost all agree that the history of **Mo** involves the cumulative updating of a book while keeping the outlines of the *mise en page*, size of written block, approaches to *ordinatio*, and so on, more or less the same. This updating involved a minimum of three, and probably more, phases, depending on how the various supplements to the growing volume are interpreted. There is an important dialectic between this cumulative updating and the emergence over the same period of conventions governing the *liber motetorum*. One of the reasons for reflecting on Branner's restriction of the old corpus to fascicles 2 to 6, excluding their supplements, is that those fascicles constitute a coherent and logical compilation from around 1280, as Table 1.1 shows. Dedicating a fascicle to each of four-part motets, bilingual motets, Latin double motets, French double motets, and two-part French motets is an irresistible clue to how the motet was thought of in the years leading up to 1280, and – given that there are elements of this type in books from perhaps twenty or thirty years earlier – during most of the third quarter of the century. The *compilatio* of the motet book was driven by number of voice-parts, language of its texts, and work-by-work organization. Alphabetical

Table 1.1 Contents of **Mo** by fascicle

| *Fascicle* | *Contents* |
|---|---|
| 1 | *Deus in adiutorium*; hockets; organa |
| 2 | 4vv French motets |
| 3 | 3vv bilingual motets |
| 4 | 3vv Latin motets |
| 5 | Hocket; 3vv French motets |
| 6 | 2vv French motets |
| 7 | 3vv French bilingual and Latin motets |
| 8 | *Deus in adiutorium*; 3vv French, bilingual, and Latin motets |

[5] There is still a need for a study of the reworkings of the organa in the first fascicle of **Mo** in the light of other mensural reworkings both of the same repertory and of the conductus from the same period that builds on Branner's review of Ludwig and Rokseth.

[6] In a personal communication to the author, 9 November 1983, cited in Everist 1985 and published in Everist 1989, 106 and n. 19.

[7] Simmons 1994.

[8] Wolinski 1988; Wolinski 1992, 263–301.

[9] Parsoneault 2001.

[10] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:48–53.

organization appears as a sub-category in such collections as the French motet fascicles in **W**$_2$ and in **Ba**, where the alphabetical organization by motetus is subservient to the overall planning of a collection of exactly one hundred motets.

The addition both of fascicles 1 and 7 and of fascicle 8 not only adds up-to-date repertory, or – as in the case of some parts of fascicle 1 – reworkings of older material, but also attempts to reflect the emerging practice of prefacing the *liber motetorum* with a setting of *Deus in adiutorium*.[11] There is a real logic to placing the setting of *Deus in adiutorium* at the beginning of fascicle 1, and in turn placing that entire fascicle before fascicle 2, and also adding in fascicle 7.

What is less clear is the reason, when the compiler added fascicle 8, why they placed another setting of *Deus in adiutorium* at the beginning. The eighth fascicle of **Mo** functions just as well as a free-standing *liber motetorum* in the same way as **Tu** or **Br** – both of which also begin their motet collections with the same *Deus in adiutorium* setting – as a carefully copied addition designed to go with the preceding seven fascicles. One way of squaring this circle is to work with the idea that a single *atelier* could develop and re-use an identical *mise en page* and that **Mo** 8 emerged from the same workshop as the previous fascicles, but with up-to-date repertory and layout, including *Deus in adiutorium*, which was then added effortlessly to the existing book as it then stood. **Mo** 8 could hypothetically have circulated very well on its own – better, in fact, than fascicles 1 or 7.[12]

When this idea was first developed,[13] some of the most imaginative research on thirteenth-century Parisian book production and circulation – the work of Richard and Mary Rouse and Patricia Stirnemann among others – was still in its infancy.[14] In revisiting some of the detail around the successive compilation of **Mo**, it is difficult not to be drawn back to work on the book collection of Richard de Fournival, and the ways in which books of similar formats were assembled and then decorated together to give a sense of consistency to the finished product.[15] Most of Fournival's books were Latin texts and included no music, most of the decorative campaigns involved flourished initials only, and he was apparently based in Amiens rather than Paris. But he was never far from the circles in which the protagonists of **Mo** were active: among his many other activities, he wrote a *Bestiaire d'amours*, and he was involved in the composition of poetry, some of which – alongside a collection of *chansons* and a couple of *jeux-partis* with Gautier de Dargies – found its way into the motet repertory.[16] And Fournival's careful preservation of his library in ways that are analogous to the compilation of **Mo** is only one well-documented

[11] See Chapter 6 of this volume by Eva M. Maschke.

[12] Günther 1988, 111–22.

[13] Everist 1989, 110–34.

[14] Eventually published as Rouse and Rouse 2000.

[15] Rouse 1973 included an outline of the Fournival library. See also Birkenmajer 1922. The key text that discusses the additive qualities of many of Fournival's books so closely aligned with the additive construction of **Mo** is Stirnemann 2011.

[16] For the songs, see Zarifopol 1904. Fournival is discussed frequently in Gennrich 1926; and the broader Amiens context is given in Johnson 1991, 282–383. The relationships between song and motet in Fournival's œuvre are discussed in Thomson 2016, 1:49–56 and 1:180–6.

example among many.[17] Put bluntly, the additive construction of **Mo** – phase 1, fascicles 2–6; phase 2, fascicles 1 and 7; phase 3, fascicle 8 – finds many analogies in the construction of various genres of manuscript in the thirteenth century.

In some ways, the question of the overall structure of **Mo** is not really germane to the status of its eighth fascicle because of its late date and more discrete nature. However, there is one further complication and that concerns the supplements to fascicles 3, 5, and 7. This is complex and contested ground, but it does seem that the supplements to fascicle 7 are of importance in any discussion of **Mo** 8. The supplements to fascicles 3 and 5 belong to an earlier period of reworking that is captured by the table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript.[18] It might be too easy to argue that the fascicle 3 and 5 supplements are contemporary with the addition of fascicles 1 and 7 and that the supplements to fascicle 7 date from the same time as the compilation of **Mo** 8. The situation may well be codicologically more complex, but the music in the two supplements to fascicle 7 requires consideration alongside any discussion of fascicle 8.[19]

The most recent dating of **Mo** 8, in Stones's *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260–1320*, puts it in the second decade of the fourteenth century, and Stones invites us to consider the fascicle alongside the *Vie de saint Denis* of 1317 (Paris, BnF fr. 2090–2).[20] This date aligns well with what is known of a key point of comparison with **Mo** 8: **Tu**. Judith Oliver's work on manuscripts from the diocese of Liège has put **Tu** somewhere in the next decade,[21] and it barely needs saying that the date of the *Vie de saint Denis* that is so important for **Mo** 8 is also a significant date in the compilation of the notated version of the *Roman de Fauvel* (**Fauv**).[22]

Issues of both chronology and codicology are fundamental to any understanding of **Mo 8**, its contents, conventions, and context. It has been observed that – unlike the highly organized old corpus – the eighth fascicle is immensely varied and incoherent. Rokseth saw evidence of highly varied musical tastes in this fascicle. She wrote:

> More varied still than any of the preceding fascicles, the eighth does not only represent the various tastes at the heart of a single nation, not only the concerns of use in different social milieux – ecclesiastical, courtly, or popular.

[17] Vleeschauwer 1965 is fundamental. See also Glorieux 1963; and more recently Excell 1986.

[18] The table of contents of **Mo**, fols 1r–4r includes all the compositions in the first seven fascicles, and the supplements to fascicles 3 and 5, but not the supplements to fascicle 7.

[19] The first supplement to **Mo** 7 contains eight French double motets (**Mo** 7,292–9). The second supplement has three pieces (**Mo** 7,300–2): two Latin double motets and a bilingual double motet.

[20] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:50. In a private communication to the author (24 September 2013), Patricia Stirnemann proposed a date of 1310 for **Mo** 8.

[21] Oliver 1988; Oliver 1995. See the discussion of the significance of these dates for **Tu** in Everist 2007, 370, n. 18.

[22] The bibliography on **Fauv** is enormous, but the paradigmatic statement for the dating, chronology, and context of its compilation is Wathey 1998.

> The compositions that it concerns … nevertheless belong to sufficiently distinct techniques that one can discover there traces of clearly separated musical schools.
>
> *Plus composite encore qu'aucun des fascicules précédents, l'huitième ne représente pas seulement des goûts divers au sein d'une même nation, des soucis d'utilisation en des milieux sociaux différents – milieu ecclésiastique, courtois ou populaire. Les compositions qu'il réunit … appartiennent néanmoins à des techniques assez distinctes pour qu'on y puisse découvrir les traces d'écoles musicales nettement séparées.*[23]

Ludwig, unbeknown to Rokseth, had reached the same conclusion as to the variety of types in the fascicle, although typically he spoke in terms of style rather than school: 'Like of all the major mensurally notated manuscripts, it has a most stylistically variegated composition' (*Stilistisch ist es wie alle grossen Mensuralhandschriften auf das Bunteste zusammengesetzt*).[24] And whether the variety of type in **Mo** 8 is to be considered in terms of sociological/school or technical/stylistic impulses, this overall view has not changed in the century since Ludwig set forth his account.

Less clear in the literature, ancient and modern, is the striking difference in concordance base between **Mo** 8 and the rest of the repertory. Of the forty-three compositions, no fewer than thirty-one are unica, or – to put it another way – only about 25 per cent of the fascicle is found in sources elsewhere. If this were not striking enough, of those works with concordances, many have the tiniest range of further witnesses (Table 1.2). There are three pieces with a single concordance in **Tu**, another with a single concordance in a lost Arras fragment,[25] and the two pieces with concordances in **Douce** are in fact the same poem because the two motets in question share in part the same text. The two motets with concordances in the Oxford New College motet collection (**Onc**) have often been thought to be parts of the same work, and are found in **Mo** 8 preceded by *Alle psallite/Alle psallite/ALLELUYA*, which has concordances of its music in two separate fragments of **Worc**, with contrafact texts; one of these contrafacted texts is also in **ORawl**, but with empty music staves). This really leaves just two works with any sort of extensive concordance base: *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* and the last piece in the fascicle *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE*.

Table 1.3 shows concordances for *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]*. The motet is found in the main part of the seventh fascicle of **Mo**, but here, in its eighth fascicle, the triplum text and its music are different. In the version in the seventh fascicle, both upper voices are verbatim quotations from the biblical Song of Songs, whereas, in the version in the eighth, the triplum not only adds in syllabic semibreves but its text only very loosely tropes the text of the tenor and – even more loosely – the surviving Song of Songs text in the motetus. This version is also preserved in **Da**. The piece is found in **Ba** with a further triplum and triplum text which makes no reference to either motetus or tenor text and collapses at the

[23] Rokseth 1935–9, 4:85.

[24] Ludwig 1978, 547.

[25] In 1906 Ludwig viewed a private copy of the lost Arras fragment: see Ludwig 1978, 633–4.

Table 1.2 **Mo** 8 works with concordances

| ***Mo*** *8 number* | | ***Mo*** | ***Tu*** | ***Onc*** | ***Douce*** *(text only)* | ***Arras fragment*** *(lost)* | ***Worc*** | *Additional concordances* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 303 | *Deus in adiutorium* | | 4v | | | | | **Br** (recto) |
| 309 | *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* | | | | 213r | | | Quoted in Anonymous of St Emmeram |
| 318 | *Tout solas/Bone Amour/NE ME BLASMES MIE* | | 39r–40r | | | | | |
| 320 | *En mai/J'ai trouvé/FIAT TENOR* | | 22r–23r | | | | | **N** (fol. 196r); **StV** (fol. 290r) |
| 321 | *De mes amours/L'autrier m'estuet/DEFORS COMPIEGNE* | | | | 213r | | | |
| 330 | *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* | 319r–319v and 379v–381r | | | | | | **Ba**; **Da**; **ArsA**; **LoD** (see Table 1.3) |
| 336 | *Puisq'en amer/Quant li jolis/IN SECULUM* | | | | | Sy. 1–2 | | |
| 338 | *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* | 326r–327v | | | | | | |
| 339 | *Alle psallite/Alle psallite/ALLELUYA* | | | | | | frag. xxviii, fol. 4v; frag. xxxv, fols 3v, 1r (both contrafacts) | **ORawl,** pp. 1–2 (contrafact text only) |
| 340 | *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM* | | | 86r | | | | |
| 341 | *Huic ut placuit/Huic ut placuit/[HUIC MAGI]* | | | 86r | | | | |
| 345 | *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* | 24v–27r | | | | | | **$W_2$**; **MüB**; **Ba** (see Table 1.4) |

Table 1.3 *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* concordances

| *Manuscript* | *Incipits* |
|---|---|
| **Mo** 8, fols 379v–381r | *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |
| **Mo** 7, fol. 319r–v | *Anima mea/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |
| **LoHa** (text only, in fragmentary index) | *Anima mea/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |
| **Da**, Ibr | *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |
| **Ba**, fol. 14r | *Gaude super omnia/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |
| **ArsA**, fols 291v and 316r | *Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |
| **LoD**, fol. 55v | *Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* |

end into a series of generic Marian acclamations. The two concordances in **ArsA** and **LoD** are both in two parts only, but tellingly are also decisively non-French.[26] If the careful juxtaposition of two Song of Songs texts were to represent a *lectio difficilior*, it might be tempting to assume that the version in **Mo** 7 and **LoHa** gave the original configuration of this piece; **Mo** 8 and **Da**, and **Ba**, would then represent re-texting and recomposition, while **ArsA** and **LoD** represented peripheral and reduced transmissions of the more common version of the motet.

The second piece with wide-ranging concordances is *La bele estoile de mer/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* (see Table 1.4). The version in **Ba** corresponds to the one in **Mo** 8, but the motet is also found in **Mo** 2 with the added quadruplum *Celui en qui je me fi*, and in **MüB**, which – although certainly in Bavaria by the fifteenth century – has no certain provenance.[27] The **MüB** version replaces the motetus and triplum texts with Latin ones, while the two versions in $\mathbf{W}_2$ are both in two parts, the first with the French motetus *La bele, en qui* and the second with the Latin motetus found in **MüB**. This latter is the version in which the piece is also cited in Franco's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*.[28]

Such a mind-numbing description of concordances that has just been presented is of value if it reinforces this simple but striking point: of the forty-two motets in **Mo** 8, these are really the only two that have the range of concordances enjoyed by the majority of motets in the old corpus and related sources. And these two are particularly interesting, given the wide geographical range of the witnesses to individual works. The first of the two **Mo** 8 pieces preserves a little-known version of the motet, with triplum text and music found in just one other source. While it looks, then, as if the fascicle existed almost as a self-referential collection of music, this in

[26] There are good claims on an English provenance for **ArsA**, and **LoD** has always been thought to be Bavarian. **ArsA** consists of a noted Sarum missal with an appendix of motets which could equally well have been copied in England or after its fairly early move to France. Reaney 1966, 369–71. On **LoD**, see Fischer and Lutolf 1972, 2:177–9.

[27] Göllner 1986, 72–7. See also Reaney 1969, 74–9.

[28] Gilles and Reaney 1974, 73.

Table 1.4 *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* concordances

| *Manuscript* | *Incipit* |
|---|---|
| **Mo** 8, fol. 397r–v | *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* |
| **Ba**, fol. 34v | *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* |
| **Mo** 2, fols 24v–27r | *Celui en qui/La bele estoile/La bele, en qui//IOHANNE* |
| **MüB**, no. 7 | *Psallat vox ecclesie/Ave, plena gracia/IOHANNE* |
| **$W_2$**, fol. 236v | *La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* |
| **$W_2$**, fol. 178r | *Ave, plena gracia/IOHANNE* (also cited by Franco) |

turn raises all sorts of questions about the levels of musical and poetic innovation, compilation, and reception that are unique to this part of the book.

Holding firmly on to the idea that three-quarters of the contents of **Mo** 8 are unica, the question of stylistic groupings in the collection becomes one of real importance. They are many, and at first sight seem to sit awkwardly with the self-referential nature of the collection that a study of concordances seems to suggest. Petronian motets, English compositions, confraternity motets, motets on *Chose Tassin* or *Chose Loyset* tenors, motets on song tenors: each group is considered in turn here.

## PETRONIAN MOTETS

General histories of music – or even histories of medieval music – give a colossal emphasis to the so-called Petronian motet. It is therefore surprising to be reminded that the genre's reputation is based on a corpus that does not even reach double figures. The significance of the Petronian motets in **Mo** 8 cannot be recognized without taking into account the entire repertory in the codex as a whole, and its concordances (see Table 9.1 in Chapter 9 by David Maw for the treatment of semibreves in these motets).[29] The rows labelled 'Petronian' in Table 9.1 quantify the number of times that the breve is divided into more than three semibreves: in other words, the density of Petronian practices. In *Aucun ont trouvé/Lonc tans/ANNUN[TIANTES]* (**Mo** 7,254), there are four instances of a breve replaced by five semibreves, one occurrence of a six-semibreve group, and one instance of a seven; all are in the triplum and all are syllabic – that is, each of the semibreves carries its own syllable. There are cases where, although the breve is divided into more than three semibreves, the group only carries a single syllable (enclosed within parentheses in Table 9.1). There is never more than one instance of a melismatic group of Petronian semibreves in an individual piece. There is, however, a single work where a melismatic Petronian group is found not in the triplum (as is the case everywhere else) but in the motetus: *Pour chou/Li jolis tans/KYRIELEISON* (**Mo** 7,299).

The distribution of the Petronian motet, when the two supplements to **Mo** 7 are taken into account, reveals three pieces in **Mo** 8, and four in the main part of **Mo** 7, one of which overlaps with a piece in fascicle eight and the other three of which

[29] Maw, Chapter 9, p. 164.

have concordances in **Tu**. Given that these Petronian motets represent around 10 per cent of the total repertory in each of those three collections, the presence of a further three works in the first supplement to **Mo** 7 takes on a greater significance than has previously been thought. There are only eight works in that supplement, which throws the three Petronian compositions – all unica – into sharp focus. One way in which the Petronian compositions in **Mo** 8 might be differentiated is that there are only two bilingual Petronian pieces in the codex, and both are in **Mo** 8. But all the Petronian material is in the (French) triplum of these motets.[30]

## THE ENGLISH REPERTORY

To turn from the Petronian repertory in **Mo** 8 to the English pieces in the collection is to move from the best-circumscribed and best-defined segment of the **Mo** 8 repertory to the most diffuse and contentious. No other manuscript of French provenance preserves quite as many problematic English compositions. There are two groups: a first, closely connected, collection of pieces, and then a looser group of other works of equal interest.

Very neatly copied together in sequence in the middle of **Mo** 8 are three pieces that, unlike the rest of the English pieces in the fascicle, no-one has ever disputed being anything other than English (Table 1.5). It is not hard to point to differences between individual pieces: all three take a different approach to the structural use of melismas and hocket, but the presence of the same text in both upper parts, along with the use of voice-exchange, clearly points to the north side of the English Channel. *Balam inquit* and *Huic ut placuit* have concordances in **Onc**, and, although there is no English concordance for *Alle psallite*, there are two related English contrafacts – or at least versions of the piece with different Latin texts – in two separate fragments of **Worc** (with a probable third concordance in **ORawl**, although the music was never filled in the empty staves of this fragments, which transmits one of the Latin contrafacted texts). There are some important questions about the relationship of *Alle psallite* to its cognates and their relationship to the lost cycle of Alleluya settings witnessed in the Harley Index (**LoHa**),[31] which feed back, but in a different way, into the position of *Alle psallite* in **Mo** 8. Luther Dittmer and Ernest Sanders have written eloquently and extensively about the largely lost Alleluya cycle; this must have been an important feature on the landscape of polyphonic music north of the Isle of Wight.[32]

There is a big difference between these fairly straightforward examples of English pieces and a number of interesting Latin double motets in **Mo** 8, some of which have already been considered candidates for English origin, and others of which might be (see Table 1.6). These are all problematic pieces, not least because the first four works in Table 1.6 are all unica in **Mo** 8, so the very tricky domain of style

[30] The only instance of a Latin-texted voice-part featuring Petronian rhythms is *Novum melos promere*, known only from an extract in the theoretical literature. See Lefferts 1991, 174; Gallo 1971, 42.

[31] The most recent editions and studies of the Harley index are Lefferts 2012 and Williamson 2016 (see supplementary material 'The Harley 978 Index').

[32] Dittmer 1954; Sanders 1965.

Table 1.5 English compositions in **Mo** 8: Group 1

| *Location* | *Title* | *Voice-exchange* | *Melisma* | *Hocket* | *Text* | *English concordances* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Mo** 8,339 | *Alle psallite/ Alle psallite/ ALLELUYA* [M 78a] | Throughout | None | None | Upper voices share same text | **ORawl Worc** (frag. xxviii and frag. xxxv) |
| **Mo** 8,340 | *Balam inquit/ Balam inquit/ BALLAAM* [M 81] | Throughout (texted and untexted) | Beginning and end | In terminal melisma | Upper voices share same text | **Onc** |
| **Mo** 8,341 | *Huic ut placuit/ Huic ut placuit/ [HUIC MAGI]* [M 81] | Throughout (texted and untexted) | End | In terminal melisma | Upper voices share same text | **Onc** |

is the sole determinant for any kind of judgement of their origins. Furthermore, they contain neither of the key markers of English techniques – voice-exchange and hocket – found in the three pieces given in Table 1.5 discussed above. But two characteristics of the group outlined in Table 1.6 are significant: the use of melismas and the use either of shared upper-voice texts or upper-voice texts that trope the tenor more exhaustively than normal in French works. The first piece in the table, *Salve, virgo/Salve, sancta/OMNES*, is preserved in the second supplement to **Mo** 7, and is included in the table both for the reasons given earlier and because it has so much in common with the other works on this table.

There is an immediate paradox implied in the works in Table 1.6. In twelfth- and thirteenth-century Angevin culture, England and northern France shared a great deal. Richard Southern's rather pessimistic verdict on England's place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been widely reviewed: 'Scholars, poets, architects

Table 1.6 English compositions in **Mo** 8: Group 2

| *Location* | *Title* | *Melismas* | *Notes on text* |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Mo** 7,300 (suppl. 2) | *Salve virgo, virginum/Salve, sancta parens/OMNES* [M 1] | Beginning and end | Both upper voices share same text |
| **Mo** 8,315 | *Porta preminentie/Porta penitentie/ PORTAS* [Unidentified] | None | Tropes tenor word × 3 |
| **Mo** 8,322 | *Marie assumptio/Huius chori/ TENOR* [Unidentified] | Beginning and end | Two separate poems |
| **Mo** 8,330 | *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* [O 47] | Beginning | Liturgical text |
| **Mo** 8,343 | *Virginis eximie/N[o]stra salus/ CERNERE* [O 19] | Beginning and end | Two separate poems that share individual words |

and religious reformers in England did the same thing as their contemporaries in France, rather less well, and in a provincial and derivative way'.[33] Exceptions cited were historiography, science, miracles of the Virgin, secular government, the study of the literature of pagan Rome, and book production. Adding the composition of polyphonic music to this list of English endeavours that are neither provincial nor derivative reveals the paradox. Although the concept of an Angevin culture has importance – and especially in terms of the number of apparently French conducti that relate to English political topics, for example – at the same time, within that Angevin culture there clearly coexisted identifiable characteristics of polyphonic works composed, cultivated, and copied on both sides of the Channel.[34] Identifying this paradox is important for forestalling criticism that speaking in terms of 'French' and 'English' risks distancing any commentary from those who think every other humanities discipline must have a more theoretically rigorous framework – in this case, a concept of an Angevin culture – than musicology. This is not the case.

It is not the case because, with a clear sense of English and French musical practices, it is possible to look at such groups of pieces as those in Table 1.6 in a more nuanced way. Jacques Handschin discussed these pieces in the second part of his now classic 'The Summer Canon and its Background'.[35] Subsequent scholarly history has seen Sanders argue that many of the pieces that Handschin thought might be English in fact came from the Rhineland,[36] a view that more recent study of manuscript provenance has largely disproved. In all these discussions, the question was always 'where do these pieces come from?' rather than 'what do these pieces represent?' The latter is a legitimate and important question. What does it mean to have a group of almost certainly English pieces – those in Table 1.5 – in a collection such as **Mo** 8 at the same time as pieces whose provenance is much less certain? This second group has some of the characteristics of English compositions – initial and terminal melismas and shared texts – but by no means all; yet the motets also stand apart from what might be thought of as clearly French works. So in answer to the question 'what do these pieces represent?' it is dangerous to ignore the idea that they might be French compositions that perhaps originate in **Mo** 8, written by composers who at least knew such English pieces as *Alle psallite* and *Balam inquit* – because they are copied in the same manuscript – and adopted some of the non-French characteristics into their own works.

The one consistent feature of the works in Table 1.6 seems to be the opening melisma. Although this had been a feature of the conductus since shortly after

[33] Southern 1970, 158. See the contextualization of these comments in Everist 1992, 7, n. 12.

[34] For further consideration of the relationship between music and a cross-channel Angevin culture, see Everist 1992 and Losseff 1994.

[35] Handschin 1951, 74–5 (*Salve, virgo/Salve, sancta/OMNES*); 76 (*Marie assumptio/Huius chori/TENOR*); 76–7 (*Virginis eximie/N[o]stra salus/CERNERE*, which Handschin dismisses).

[36] Sanders 1964. Many of the manuscripts that Sanders used to advance the idea of 'peripheral' (largely German) polyphony have been shown not to come from the Rhineland but from much closer to Paris: **Ba** and **Da** are key examples. See Everist 1989, 149–53 and 282–8.

1200, it was completely unknown in the motet once the genre was established beyond its first generation. A melismatic introduction, the introitus ahead of the introduction of the tenor, is important for the fourteenth-century motet. This is not the case for the Fauvel motets, but, for example, the motet ascribed at various times to Philippe de Vitry, *Tuba sacre fidei/In arboris/VIRGO SUM*, begins with an extended melisma for the motetus, sharing much of the musical impulse behind the melismas in the works from **Mo** 8 that have something to do with England.[37]

There are, therefore, at least three English compositions preserved in **Mo** 8. There might be more, but attempting to identify them tinges speculation with futility. Furthermore, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that many of the characteristics of English polyphony bleed over into works that might well have been composed close to where **Mo** 8 was copied. It is not much of a leap of the imagination to begin to view some of the fascicle's contents as sharing some of the characteristics of what we now think of as the fourteenth-century (formerly termed the isorhythmic) motet.

## CONFRATERNITY MOTETS

Speculation about the English origins in works in **Mo** 8 may productively yield to the examination of a group of compositions that are quintessentially French, if not Parisian. They may be termed – for reasons that will become clear – 'confraternity' motets. A single example is emblematic. *A maistre Jehan/Pour la plus/ALLELUYA* is preserved uniquely in **Mo** 8. The triplum text includes a long list of addressees which occupies the first nine lines of the poem: Maistre Jehan Lardier, Tibaut, Climent le joli, Hannicote, Marc d'argent, Copin, Martin de Bernartpré, Franque, Huet le Burier, Maistre Petit l'alosé, Pierre l'engles, and all the others whose name the author cannot remember. The rest of the poem laments the author's temporary exile:

Je justice vous salue,
car Amours trop me treslue,
que me tient en no paiis,
et que fait ore Paris?
Dieus, i tiengne compaignie,
car il n'est si bone vie.

> From prison I greet you, for Love indeed deceives me when he [love] keeps me in the north of the country, and what is going on in Paris now? God, let fellowship (*compaignie*) remain there, since there is no other life so good.[38]

It is difficult not to sympathize with someone trapped somewhere north of Lille when the self-evident attractions of Paris are denied them. But this motet sketches

[37] The work is edited in Schrade 1956, is preserved in **Iv**, fols 15v–16r, and was found in the lost index, **Trem**, fols 33v–34r.

[38] Stakel and Relihan 1985, 115 (translation slightly modified).

out most of the key tropes in a repertory (given in Table 1.7) that has yet to be seriously investigated.

Of the four motets that begin with the same formulation – *Entre* followed by *Copin, Adan, Jehan,* or *Maistre Jehan* (the first four in Table 1.7) – only one is found in **Mo** 8 (the last of the four). But once it is remembered that the compilation of **Mo** 8 might include the two supplements to **Mo** 7, and once other works that allude to confraternities in this same way are taken into account, the role of **Mo** 8 becomes that much more apparent. Ludwig set this out as long ago as 1910, and there is little to add to his analysis of the matrix of names – Jehan, Copin, Hanicot, and Pierre – that appear in more than one text. The relationship between Hanicot and Hanicotte is not quite clear: male and female versions of the same name, or just different orthographies? Adam, it is perhaps worth noting, appears in only one piece.

The column titled 'Motetus' in Table 1.7 shows how most of the pieces under discussion pair a 'confraternity' triplum with a straightforwardly courtly motetus, devoid of any leanings towards the *pastourelle* register. As a group, these motets focus on musical performance and the city of Paris, although rarely both in the same composition. There is, however, one text that does combine them, namely the triplum of *Dieus, comment/O regina/NOBIS CONCEDAS*:

> Dieus, comment porrai laissier
> la vie des compaignons a Paris
> Certes nulement!
> Tant sont deduisans et bien apris
> d'ounour, de courtoisie et de bon enseignement;
> si se font proisier, loer
> et estre amé de toute gent;
> tant se maintienent sagement;
> car quant tout sont assamblés, de rire et de jouer
> et de chanter chascun d'eus esprent
> . . . .
> Si veul tout mon tans user et demourer
> en maintenir la compaignie et hounorer
> sans nul mal ne sans mesproison penser,
> car mes cuers s'i rent.

> God, how can I abandon the life of the companions in Paris? Indeed, not at all! They are so amusing and so well instructed in honor, courtesy, and manners; they make themselves esteemed, praised, and beloved of all people; they conduct themselves quite properly; for when they are all together, each of them sets to laughing and playing and singing.
> . . . .
> And I want to use all my time in upholding and honouring *la compaignie* without intending any harm or reproach since this is the desire of my heart.[39]

[39] Stakel and Relihan 1985, 104 (translation slightly modified).

Table 1.7 Repertoire of confraternity motets

| *Incipit* | *Fascicle* | *Concordances* | *Motetus* | *Music?* | *Paris?* | *Notes* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Entre Copin et Bourgois/Je me cuidoie/BELE YSABELOS* [Unidentified] | **Mo** 7,256 | **Ba** (fols 31v–32r)<br>**Tu** (fols 20r–21r)<br>**Bes** no. 30 (tenor text incipit) | Courtly | No | Yes | Ysabelle in triplum and tenor; song tenor; texted semibreves |
| *Entre Adan et Haniket/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* [O 45] | **Mo** 7,258 | **Ba** (fols 13r–14r)<br>**Tu** (fols 2v–3v)<br>**Ha** (fol. 36r–v)<br>**Vorau**, fol. 1r<br>**Bes** No. 28 (motetus text incipit)<br>Cited in CH Anon 5 (motetus, tenor) | Courtly | Yes | No | Adam in triplum and motetus [composer]; texted semibreves |
| *Entre Jehan et Philippet/Nus hom ne puet desiervir/CHOSE TASSIN* [Unidentified (C)] | **Mo** 7,294 (suppl. 1) | None | Courtly | Yes | No | Petronian (2 × 4; triplum) |
| *A maistre Jehan/Pour la plus/ALLELUYA* [M 22] | **Mo** 8,334 | None | Courtly | No | Yes | Confraternity in triplum; texted semibreves |
| *Dieus, comment porrai/O regina glorie/NOBIS CONCEDAS* [M 85] | **Mo** 8,307 | None | Marian | Yes | Yes | Confraternity in triplum and motetus; texted semibreves |
| *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* [Unidentified] | **Mo** 8,319 | None | Duplicates topic of triplum | No | Yes | *Compaignon* triplum and motetus; texted semibreves |

While the first part of the triplum poem describes *la vie des compaignons* in Paris, and how well the companions conduct themselves, as well as laughing, playing, and singing, the end is revealing: 'And I want to use all my time in upholding / And honouring *la compaignie* / Without intending any harm or reproach / Since this is the desire of my heart' (emphasis added). It seems that the author is speaking more of an organization – a *compaignie* (for which the conventional translation is 'confraternity') – that he wishes to uphold and honour (*maintenir et hounorer*), than of a loose set of relationships among friends. This suggestion is strengthened by the opening of the Latin motetus of the same piece: 'O Queen of glory, hope of the faithful, hear the prayers of the suppliants of your confraternity' (*Regina glorie / Spes fidelium / Audi preces supplicum / Tue confratrie*); this evokes the idea of a Marian confraternity quite explicitly. *Dieus, comment/O regina/NOBIS CONCEDAS* sits clearly aside from the rest of the group in that it is a bilingual motet with a sacred motetus text, but, paradoxically, it may reveal the key to these otherwise very interesting motets and to Adam de la Halle's *Entre Adan et Hanikiel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR*. There are difficulties of linguistic slippage between *confratria*, *compagnon*, *compagnie*, and other cognates, but *Dieus, comment/O regina/NOBIS CONCEDAS* does present the opportunity to re-read these six motets in the light of the developing history of confraternities during the thirteenth century.

*Entre Adan et Hanikiel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* is one of the two motets in Table 1.7 that does not specifically mention the city of Paris. More importantly, two of the named figures in the triplum text are found in the necrology of the Confraternity of Jongleurs and Bourgeois in Arras that covers the period from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century: Hancart and Gautelot.[40] Coupled to the presence of Adam himself in the triplum, the close relationship between the two poems, and the fact that the motet is copied in **Ha** – the collection of Adam's works probably prepared during his lifetime – the Arrageois origin of this motet seems difficult to resist.[41] To conclude with a note of caution, however, Arras was only one of at least fourteen French towns and cities for which there is evidence of a confraternity before 1275.[42] Of these, only those formed expressly for musicians have featured in the secondary literature, and it is not impossible that the constellation of names found in Adam's motet and its cognates could be encountered elsewhere. The consequences for the motet repertory and for an understanding of

[40] The names figure in the necrology of the confraternity Notre-Dame des Ardents des jongleurs et bourgeois en la cathédrale, founded in 1194. See Berger 1963–70, 1:121 and 1:164; for an overview of the confraternity, see Espinas 1941–2, 2:48–97.

[41] Huot 1987, 155. Katayama 2001, 9–10, despite recognizing the presence of Hancart and Gautelot in the Arras necrology, still prefers to see a text that is 'représentative des fêtes réelles de la communauté' (12).

[42] Angers (1075); Arras (1194); Beauvais (1275); Bordeaux (1251); Crépy-en-Valois (1185); La Flèche (s.xiii); Le Mans (s.xi ex.); Louvres-en-Parisis (before 1270); Marseille (1212); Montmorillon (1107); Paris (1203); Poitiers (1266); Saint-Denis (1229); Saint-Trond (1237). See Vincent 1994, 192–203.

Adam's polyphonic output would be far-reaching.[43] Whatever investigation this confraternity repertory subsequently enjoys, it will have to be recognized that two-thirds of the examples are preserved in **Mo** 8 or the closely related supplements to **Mo** 7.

## TASSIN AND LOYSET

THIS group of confraternity motets shows up the importance of the relationship between **Mo** 7, its supplements, and **Mo** 8. Something rather similar is visible in a much better-known group of pieces, those based on the purportedly instrumental tenors by Tassin and Loyset: the well-known *Chose Tassin* and *Chose Loyset*. This time, however, none of these pieces survives in **Mo** 8 itself, but a remarkable number – three out of the four – are found in the first supplement to the seventh fascicle (the fourth contained within the main body of **Mo** 7) and are therefore strictly germane to the current inquiry (Table 1.8). In many respects, the four works have much in common: they all employ a declamation on the semibreve – one adds in two tiny moments where four texted semibreves are given for one breve – and the mix of poetic modes is similar. One is a confraternity motet that has just been discussed: *Entre Jehan et Philippet/Nus hom ne puet desiervir/CHOSE TASSIN*. There are no concordances for any of the four. The real points of interest lie in the sources and structure of the tenors, the authorship of the motets, and their significance for the compilation of **Mo**.

Table 1.8 Motets using *CHOSE TASSIN* and *CHOSE LOYSET* tenors

| *Incipit* | *Fascicle* | *Concordances* | *Tenor* | *Declamation* | *Modes* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Amours dont je suis espris /L'autrier au douz mois d'avril/CHOSE TASSIN* [Unidentified (A)] | **Mo** 7,270 | none | 2 × A + coda | semibreve | Courtly – Pastourelle |
| *De chanter me vient/ Bien doi boine Amor/ CHOSE TASSIN* [Unidentified (B)] | **Mo** 7,292 (suppl. 1) | none | 2 × (11 *ordines*) + coda | semibreve | Courtly – Courtly |
| *Entre Jehan et Philippet/ Nus hom ne puet desiervir/CHOSE TASSIN* [Unidentified (C)] | **Mo** 7,294 (suppl. 1) | none | 2 × (ABC) + coda | semibreve with two Petronian phrases | Confraternity – Courtly |
| *Quant che vient/Mout ai esté/CHOSE LOYSET* [Unidentified] | **Mo** 7,297 (suppl. 1) | none | 3 × ($AA_1$) | semibreve | Pastourelle – Courtly |

[43] For an account of the confraternity motet in the context of Adam de la Halle's œuvre, see Everist forthcoming.

The three tenors attributed to Tassin (identified in 1288 as a royal *ménestrel*)[44] behave in the same way, not only in their use of the two statements of the estampie *punctum*, but also in the presence of a curious coda which is identical in all three of the tenors. Pierre Aubry and Rokseth were both struck by this similarity and suggested that all three tenors were taken from a single estampie with the same *clos* formula.[45] Rokseth also observed that the descending fourth in this common coda might have something to do with the tuning of Tassin's bowed strings. Critically, though, the *Chose Loyset* behaves quite differently in its use of three statements of its melody, and makes no use whatsoever of the coda. The density of these works in the first supplement to **Mo** 7 is quite remarkable: of the first six works in the supplement, three are based on either the *Chose Tassin* or the *Chose Loyset* tenor, and Tassin's work seems split between the seventh fascicle and its supplement. Given the fact that all four of these works are unica, one might be forgiven for thinking that Tassin had something to do with the compilation of the later stages of **Mo**. Suggesting that parts of **Mo** 7 and 8 may be autograph would be going too far, but there is undoubtedly a closer connection between **Mo** 7 and 8 and Tassin than there is with, say, Adam de la Halle or Petrus de Cruce.

## MOTETS AND SONG TENORS

It is a short leap from the motets based on *Chose Tassin* and *Chose Loyset* tenors to the largish group of motets in **Mo** 8 that are built on vernacular songs. Much has been written on the subject, but there are still questions related to the distribution of the technique and practice to which an analysis of **Mo** 8 and its related material can provide answers.[46] The key sources for this group of works are **Mo** 7, **Mo** 8, **Tu**, and **Fauv**. The first three have much in common (see Table 1.9). A total of twenty-two motets in these three sources use song tenors, more or less a quarter of the contents of each manuscript: ten out of forty-two in **Mo** 8; eight out of thirty-two in **Tu**; and a slightly smaller proportion in **Mo** 7 (eight out of forty-nine).[47] **Fauv** is strikingly less generous to the type, since only about an eighth of its motets are built on French tenors. One area of interest in these works lies in those pieces where the repeating structure of the tenor triggers similar repeating patterns in one or more of the upper voices, creating blocks of repeating material that were part of the constellation of techniques in play around 1300 that fed into the polyphonic *chanson* of the fourteenth century. These are in the first row of Table 1.9, where they are fairly evenly divided, with three in **Mo** 7 and **Tu**, and four in **Mo** 8; the single piece in **Fauv** is statistically insignificant. Initially, then, it looks like this phenomenon is split evenly across three of the four sources outlined in Table 1.9.

It is helpful to attempt to distinguish between those motets that carry out exhaustive correspondences between tenor and upper voices, those that, for example,

[44] Rokseth 1935–9, 4:290.

[45] Aubry 1907, 32–4; Rokseth 1935–9, 4:203–4 and n. 3.

[46] See Everist 2007.

[47] Although there are twenty-six instances of such works across the three manuscripts, concordances mean that the total number of individual compositions is twenty-two.

Table 1.9 Motets with French song tenors and their use in upper parts

| *Source* | ***Mo** 7* | ***Mo** 8* | ***Tu*** | ***Fauv*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Works with French tenor reflected in upper voice | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Works with French tenor | 5 | 6 | 5 | 3 |
| French tenors: proportion of total | 8/49 | 10/42 | 8/32 | 4/34 |

simply undertake them at beginning and end, and those that fall between the two extremes. On examining the intensity of practice – *to what extent* the upper voices reflect the structure of the vernacular tenors – a slightly different picture emerges. Of the three pieces in **Mo** 7, for example, two have only the smallest possible engagement with this practice, and the one that does engage seriously – *Au cuer ai un mal/Ja ne m'en repentirai/JOLIETEMENT* (**Mo** 7,260) – is a piece that is widely distributed across the surviving sources. By contrast, all but one of the pieces in **Mo** 8 work hard to mirror tenor structures in their upper voices, and the collection includes the single piece that almost throughout replicates its tenor structure in its upper parts. This is **Mo** 8,318, *Tout solas/Bone Amour/NE ME BLASMES*.[48]

The question arises: how do we interpret this greater interest in the pan-isoperiodicity in the motets in **Mo** 8 and **Tu**? The temptation to read it as a chronological move – a greater commitment to working with motet materials in the context of emergent polyphonic song as **Mo** 7 yields to **Mo** 8, as the music of the 1290s yields to the music of the 1310s – is a strong one. It is particularly compelling since both **Mo** 8 and **Tu** share this greater interest in comparison with **Mo** 7, and that seems to accord with what is now known about the chronology of these collections; if both **Mo** 8 and **Tu** were copied within a few years of **Fauv**, what should be made of the relative lack of interest in *chanson*-motets in the latter? In fact, there is little difficulty with this question, since it is reasonable to accept that such a vibrant musical environment as we find twenty years either side of 1300 could simultaneously support proponents of a still-developing *Ars antiqua* and an emergent *Ars nova*.

## CONCLUSION

To return to the dissecting table is to revisit some things that have just been excavated from the corpse – refrains are a good example – and merely placed on one side for others to examine. Different parts of the cadaver – Petronian notation, English compositions, song tenors, for example – have emerged from the autopsy with a rather different complexion as a result of being viewed through the lens of **Mo** 8 alone. And there have been some things that have come out of the body that were a little unexpected and deserve some more attention: the idea of the confraternity motet is one, and the motets based on the *Choses Tassin* and *Loyset* tenors still have more to reveal.

[48] See the paradigmatic analysis of the work in Everist 2007, 376.

But as the smell of formaldehyde dissipates, and as the assistants arrive with hoses to sluice down the workspace, there is time to reflect not just on the complexity of the contents of **Mo** 8 summarized here, but also on the remarkable geographical and chronological position that the fascicle now begins to assume in the history of early fourteenth-century music. Questions of continuity and change come sharply into focus. In some of the groups of works discussed here, there is a seismic change between **Mo** 7 and **Mo** 8 and the related supplements to **Mo** 7. But in others the continuities are just as striking. These differences can help develop the fragmented history of the motet around 1300 in attractive ways. It is inevitable that there will continue to be discourses about the thirteenth-century motet, but it must be recognized that its composition and cultivation extend at least as far as 1320, and that it overlaps with those particularly interesting developments seen in **Fauv**. **Mo** 8 does important work in terms of recalibrating the ways in which we conceptualize the music history of the early fourteenth century, but it also emerges as a unique and idiosyncratic witness to the cultivation of polyphonic music in perhaps one of the less fashionable *arrondissements* in Paris during the final decline of the Capetian dynasty.

CHAPTER 2

# A Palaeographical Analysis of the Verbal Text in Montpellier 8: Problems, Implications, Opportunities*

SEAN CURRAN

Several chapters of this volume seek a firmer dating for the copying of **Mo** 8 than has heretofore been ascertained, their arguments based on stylistic comparison of the fascicle's musical repertory and artistic work with a broad base of dated and datable materials. As palaeographers have long taught us, script, too, has style.[1] No less than the work of artists and composers, that of scribes was conditioned by the changing needs of those who used their products, as new patterns of book use emerged, supporting and supported by a growing book trade in the later Middle Ages. Like colleagues working in other artistic media, scribes responded to changes in taste and fashion. Thus scripts belong to history and, under certain circumstances, hands may be datable.

Dates offered for **Mo** have ranged broadly even in recent scholarship, in no small part because disagreements remain about whether and to what extent Montpellier is a composite codex – or, to put this the other way around, whether and to what extent it was planned as a whole. How someone construes the material evidence naturally affects how that scholar dates the manuscript (or some portion of it). There is not space here to review all the codicological, palaeographical, and art-historical work relevant to the issue; but reliable accounts of earlier scholarship exist

* My thanks to the editors of the present volume for inviting me to write a script analysis of **Mo** 8, and to Nicolas Bell, Margaret Bent, and Emma Dillon for their thoughtful comments on drafts. I am grateful to Alison Stones for sharing her essay in this volume in advance of publication, and for exchanging generously about the compatibility of our arguments. Gratitude also to Karen Desmond for sharing hers, and for encouraging me to think more about how copying stints interact with musical styles in **Mo** 8. Special thanks are due to Teresa Webber, to whom I am deeply grateful for discussions on innumerable issues of palaeographical description, both in general and in the specific case of **Mo** 8. Most research for this essay was conducted with digital images, but as the piece went to press in November 2016, it became possible to consult the manuscript itself. I am deeply grateful to Mme Pascaline Todeschini for permitting me to work with the book, and both to her and to the staff of the Bibliothèque universitaire de médecine for their warm welcome. Needless to say, after all the insights others have generously shared, I alone am responsible for any errors that remain.

[1] The ideas about the historical character of script in this paragraph come from Parkes 2008. Of fundamental importance is Bischoff 1990, esp. 127–44 and 224–34. For an overview of the historical conditions affecting script in our period, see Saenger 1999, 120–48. For the Parisian context, see Rouse and Rouse 2000.

already.[2] Suffice it to say that the earliest dating proposed for fascicle 8 would place it in the 1270s – a suggestion of Mary E. Wolinski.[3] The latest might put it as far into the fourteenth century as the 1320s – a possibility floated by Yvonne Rokseth in the 1930s, and compatible with some of the new evidence offered in this volume by Alison Stones (who finds that 'a date in the decade of c.1315–25 for the execution of **Mo** 8 would be most likely').[4] Covering six decades, this is a broad range.

Research on **Mo**'s production constitutes a sizeable and imposing – indeed, a daunting and inspiring – body of scholarship, still more impressive given that some of its most important contributions were written when their authors were students, and before any widespread use of the technologies of manuscript reproduction upon which the field has come so heavily to rely. With digital images now available,[5] and also software for detailed palaeographical analysis,[6] it is an opportune time to revisit the manuscript's testimony, and to fine-tune those arguments about the relative chronology of its fascicles that depend on distinguishing its various text scribes, notators, and artists, and charting their work across the book. That task would take us beyond the primary topic of this volume, though it is work I am

[2] Everist 1989, 110–13; Wolinski 1988, 1–9. For an overview of these positions, see Parsoneault 2001, 131–41.

[3] Wolinski 1992, 289 and *passim*. This revises material from Wolinski 1988. It should be stressed that Wolinski suggested this date only with caution. It was offered as one of three possible scenarios, in a meditation on how our conception of the fascicle's character would change if further research showed it had been 'produced in the 1270s', 'c. 1300', or '1320–1330' (Wolinski 1992, 289). Although Wolinski's range of proposed dates reaches earlier than the spans suggested by other scholars, her account is not the only one to have expressed dissatisfaction with dates much beyond 1300 for the eighth fascicle. For example, Everist 1989, 122, cast doubt on Robert Branner's date of c.1300, writing: 'Whether Branner was in some way responding to Rokseth's prejudices concerning the much later date is a question that quite possibly might be asked but cannot be answered.' (The reference is to Branner 1977, 238.) A similar circumspection regarding Branner's dating of the decoration is voiced by Edward H. Roesner, who writes, 'whatever the date of the illumination may eventually prove to be, it seems clear that fasc. VIII was prepared specifically for inclusion in **Mo** and that its copying was more or less contemporaneous with that of fasc. I–VII' (Roesner 1993, lxxviii).

[4] Rokseth 1935–9. As Everist 2007, 370, n. 18, has pointed out, Rokseth expressed more than one opinion on **Mo** 8's date: at one point, she writes that it was copied 'around the end of the reign of Philippe [IV] le Bel [i.e. c.1314]' (Rokseth 1935–9, 4:30), but elsewhere she places **Mo** 8 in 'the first quarter of the fourteenth century' (ibid., 4:28). See Stones, Chapter 3 in this volume. See also Wolinski 1992, 289.

[5] At the time of writing, images of all the manuscript's leaves are available online at: http://www.biu-montpellier.fr/florabium/jsp/nodoc.jsp?NODOC=2015_DOC_MONT_MBUM_26 (accessed 22 August 2016).

[6] Especially useful is the Graphoskop program, developed by Maria Gurrado and Giancarlo Lestingi. See http://www.palaeographia.org/graphoskop/index.htm (accessed 22 August 2016). I am most grateful to Maria Gurrado for responding to technical queries that arose during research on this chapter.

pursuing elsewhere.[7] The present essay is offered as a first instalment on a topic that will take more space to handle with the care due.

It seems fair to say that hypotheses about the *dating* of Montpellier's eighth fascicle – and indeed the rest of the manuscript – have so far been built almost exclusively on the basis of its art (and, even following that line of research, more work may remain to be done).[8] Given the dominance of matters artistic, it would be useful to have data from other facets of the book's design that might point to a shorter span of time during which **Mo** 8 is most likely to have been made. Chronological consideration of its scripts is notably absent in the literature on Montpellier, and it is not used by musicologists studying *Ars antiqua* sources as often as perhaps it might be – though there are some notable exceptions.[9] Script analysis may yet become a more helpful tool for historical work on this manuscript, and others of the repertory.

Previous palaeographical work on Montpellier's text hands has instead sought to determine the number of scribes who worked on the book. Gustav Jacobsthal identified fourteen, though he gave no criteria upon which he had distinguished one from another.[10] Rokseth accepted Jacobsthal's scribal divisions (at least in a preliminary manner),[11] and so too did Mark Everist.[12] Broadly speaking, Wolinski saw the same copying divisions as Jacobsthal, but argued that some scribes worked on more than one portion of the book, thereby reducing Jacobsthal's fourteen to eleven.[13] Their other differences notwithstanding, all commentators agree that **Mo** 8 was copied by a single text hand, and that his hand is not found elsewhere in the

[7] The evidence for **Mo**'s production chronology will be reconsidered in my forthcoming monograph, *Voices from the Archive: Old Music and the Motet ca. 1300*.

[8] For example, there is a need to arbitrate between the several positions taken on the foliate major initials of fascicle 8, and the presence or absence of their artist's hand in other portions of the book. Compare the accounts of Everist 1989, 121–3, with Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2: Cat. I-24, and Wolinski 1992, 272–3 and 286–7.

[9] For example, the contribution of Julian Brown in Brown, Patterson, and Hiley 1981.

[10] Jacobsthal 1879, 534.

[11] Rokseth 1935–9, 4:24, where she calls Jacobsthal's work a 'description minutieuse à laquelle on peut renvoyer pour tout ce qui a trait aux graphies, aux retouches, aux écritures présentées par le manuscrit' ('a thorough description to which one can refer for all that relates to the graphical forms, the corrections, and scribal hands presented by the manuscript' (my translation)). However, at 4:27 she qualifies her acceptance: 'Ce dénombrement [i.e. of scribes] n'est probablement pas définitif' ('This enumeration is probably not definitive').

[12] Everist 1989, 119–22.

[13] Wolinski 1992, 263–301. For her scribal identifications, see Table 1 (266–7); for her disagreements with Jacobsthal, see 265, n. 6. Of **Mo** 8's text hand, Wolinski writes that 'the script is neat, but there is a tendency to run words closely together' (ibid., 29).

manuscript – claims with which I will cautiously agree.[14] However, my analysis also uncovers features that might be used to challenge a one-scribe hypothesis – evidence to which we may need to pay more attention as work on this complicated book continues.

So one purpose of this essay is to suggest further ways in which comparative work with datable samples of script might be useful when working with manuscripts of our period. A severely close analysis of **Mo** 8's handwriting will, I hope, suggest just how many features of a scribal performance might provide points for comparison with dated and datable samples, though it raises questions about how suitable comparanda are to be assembled. Looking with the script at this level of focus has also revealed inconsistencies in its manner and formality that suggest in turn that work on the eighth fascicle proceeded at an uneven rate, with now more and now fewer pieces available for copying. We will consider in detail the most visually peculiar portion of the fascicle, pondering how such analysis might aid us as we move from script and stint to the human agents of whom they are the trace.[15] A recurrent theme can be stated in advance: comparative work with script must be used with appropriate care and caution, because manuscripts of the period – and the media through which we access them – conceal methodological pitfalls that we will have to steer around. The essay points some of them out too.

## A NOTE ON METHOD

In what follows, my method will be to describe a feature of the hand as it appears in **Mo** 8, using terms and concepts developed by Malcolm B. Parkes;[16] and then to indicate the chronological range of the script samples which are comparable with the feature isolated. Where possible, reference has been made to a feature as it appears on fol. 354r, which is reproduced in Figure 2.1. Features not present on that page are reproduced in Figure 2.2. A list of dated and datable manuscripts consulted for this study is included as an appendix, with further information on how they were identified and selected. Where a manuscript is available online (in whole or in part), a URL is given for each book, so that readers may compare the samples against the handwriting of **Mo** 8 for themselves.

[14] The mentioned scholars also all consider fascicle 8 to be the work of a single notator. On this point I take no position yet.

[15] Here and throughout, my conception of the place of manuscript studies in historiography is indebted to Hanna 1996. Manuscripts are, as he puts it, 'products of human labor, created in specific historical circumstances and for specific historicizable uses' (Hanna 1996, 4). A greater debt is owed to the work of Margaret Bent (see, among others, Bent 2008).

[16] In Parkes 2008; for definitions of unfamiliar palaeographical terms, see esp. 'Select Glossary of Technical Terms Applied to Handwriting', 149–55.

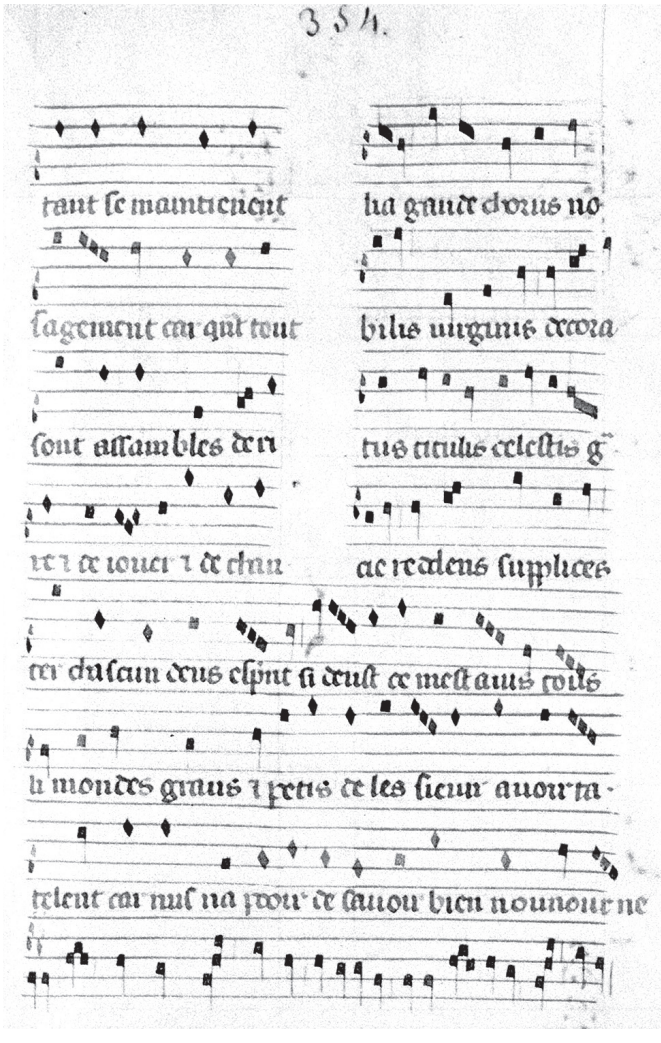


Fig. 2.1 **Mo**, fol. 354r.

## LETTER SHAPES USED BY **MO** 8'S TEXT HAND

The scribe of **Mo** 8 wrote in a *littera textualis* of medium formality. An account of the forms chosen for particular letters early in the fascicle, and the scribe's means of tracing them (his *ductus*), provides useful data against which to compare those later portions of the fascicle where the appearance of the script changes (discussed below). All letter shapes used in **Mo** 8 have been compared against facsimiles or images of all the dated manuscripts in the appendix.[17] A few forms

[17] Comparative work has been greatly facilitated by Albert Derolez's letter-by-letter account of the history of letter shapes in *textualis*. See Derolez 2003, esp. 72–101.

have emerged as more significant than others for the purposes of dating, and our discussion will be limited to them in the first instance.

The headstroke of **a** is always closed against the lower lobe (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r Triplum, line 1, 't**a**nt').[18] Indeed, the left side of the upper compartment is traced with a small descending stroke of its own. (The *ductus* is clearly revealed by the broken fusion between the two sides of the headstroke at 350r. 6, 'alleluy**a**'.) A change in the form of **a** from an open to a closed upper compartment is witnessed over the course of the thirteenth century, and **a** with an open upper compartment is rare in the fourteenth.[19] The absence of the open form in **Mo** 8 may therefore indicate a dating after 1300, although scribes might exclusively use the closed form in later thirteenth-century manuscripts too.[20]

Although oblique-shaft ('Uncial') **d** is the more frequently used form in **Mo** 8 (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.4, '**d**e'), straight-shaft ('Half-Uncial') **d** still appears (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.4, 'red**d**ens'; for an example not fused to another letter, see 353r.Tr.7, 'gau**d**iu*m*'). Albert Derolez finds the latter form 'extremely rare after the thirteenth century'.[21] Among the dated and datable manuscripts consulted for this study, by the 1280s oblique-shaft **d** is already much more often used by scribes than straight-shaft **d** (even when both are present in an individual scribal performance).[22] Several of the listed manuscripts of the 1290s through to 1305 use straight-shaft **d**, usually sparingly, and before a letter that has no facing curve (and which therefore could not fuse with the oblique form, as in **Mo** 8's above-mentioned 'gau**d**iu*m*' at

[18] Positions within the fascicle will henceforth be abbreviated in the following manner: 354r.Tr.1 (folio, voice, stave); where text is copied in more than one column, a letter represents the column concerned. When referring to a particular allograph, the letter is placed in bold type without quotation marks. Individual cases will be specified by using bold type within a quoted word: thus 'alleluy**a**' means 'the second **a** in "alleluia"'. Abbreviations are expanded in italic type, unless the palaeographical features of the abbreviation itself are under discussion. The –*bus* abbreviation will be represented with **3**. I have assumed that the reader will have access to the online images (see n. 5, above), and exemplify the features discussed with reference to as few pages as possible, for ease of reference.

[19] See Derolez 2003, 86. By way of example, see Paris, BnF lat. 11728 (1267), where **a** appears variously with open upper compartment (12r.b.5, 'rom**a**nus') or closed (12r.b.7, '**a**nnis'), or with stem so short that it resembles the *cursiva* single-compartment form (12r.a.15, 'Quo **a**'); and compare with London, BL Yates-Thompson 8 (1302–3) fol. 17v, where every **a** has two compartments, the upper closed.

[20] For example, BnF lat. 13222 (1275), where forms of **a** other than with closed upper compartment are infrequent.

[21] Derolez 2003, 87.

[22] Thus, where the scribe of BnF lat. 17551 (1283) used both forms (e.g. 11r.a.3; compare oblique 'a**d**am' with straight '**d**icens'), samplings throughout BnF fr. 412 (1285), fr. 1633 (1285–86), and Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 98 (1286) found that their scribes used only oblique-shaft **d**.

353r.Tr.7).[23] Samplings within the listed manuscripts dated after 1305 have found only the use of curved-shaft **d**, with one late exception.[24]

Both long and round **s** are used. Long **s** may be used in the initial, medial, or final position of a word (in Figure 2.1, see respectively 354r.Tr.1, '**s**e'; 354r.Tr.3, 'a**ss**ambles'; and 354r.Tr.7, 'nu**s**'). Round **s** appears only in final position (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.1, 'chorus'), and does so about as often as long **s**. Long **s** disappeared from the ends of words in the first half of the fourteenth century.[25] However, among manuscripts consulted for this study, it is still so placed in samples through the 1320s (although with reducing frequency).[26] The same is true of the Tironian *et* sign. Although the stylistically later, crossed form predominates in **Mo** 8, an uncrossed form is also found (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.4, where both the crossed and uncrossed forms are used). In practice, the uncrossed form is very rare across the manuscripts considered for this study, but isolated appearances are still detectable in the 1310s.[27]

The hand of **Mo** 8 shows a heavy use of fusions. Facing lobes in adjacent letters are almost always fused (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.1, the very common 'gau**de**'). More ornate fusions include the joining of oblique- to straight-shaft **d** (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.4, 're**dd**ens') and of the lobe of one **p** to the shaft of another (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.4, 'su**pp**lices'), both very common in **Mo** 8. The limb of **h** consistently fuses with a following curve (Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.1, 'c**ho**rus'), while **a** fuses with a preceding curve, including with the limb of **h** (Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.4, '**ch**an[ter]'). Double fusions are common (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.7, '**poo**ir'). In the other manuscripts consulted for this study, fusions of **a** and **h**, and double fusions, are already stylistic possibilities at the very beginning of the period of book

[23] Thus BL Add. 28162 (1290s), 11r.a.8, '**d**ivers' has a straight shaft, a rare use of the form for this hand. The scribe of Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 21000 ('The Murthly Hours', c.1292), also uses straight **d** rarely (e.g. 57r.11, 'bene**d**icat'). It is much more frequent in Paris, BnF lat. 15035 (1294; e.g. 5r.a.3, '**d**um', and 5r.a.4, 'a**d**'). BL Add. 54180 generally uses straight-shaft **d** before a letter without a curve (1295; e.g. 11r.b.2, straight '**d**ieu', but 11r.b.4, oblique '**d**e'). With less consistency, a similar logic governs the scribe's work in Paris, Mazarine 870 (1295; e.g. 3r.a.9, straight-shaft 'in**d**ignacion'; but see also 3r.b.4, oblique-shaft '**d**u', where no fusion was possible). Also inconsistent in this regard is BL Yates Thompson 8 (1302–3; e.g. 17v.b.2, oblique-shaft '**d**i[cam]', but b.6, straight-shaft 'exau**d**i'). Sampling found only the use of oblique-shaft **d** in the other listed manuscripts of the period 1290–1304.

[24] Namely, the opening pages of a Bible (BnF lat. 11935) that includes at fol. 642r a colophon by a scribe 'Robert de Billyng', dated 1327. But by this later point in the manuscript, the script shows only oblique-shaft not straight-shaft **d** (e.g. 642r.b.3, 'splen**d**i**d**a'; compare with 6r.b.8, oblique '**d**ixit', but 6r.b.9, straight-shaft 'au**d**isti'). The distinction of forms might be enough to posit a change of scribe. Or perhaps the change in script features across this very large manuscript suggests discrete periods of production, or a long process of copying.

[25] Derolez 2003, 92.

[26] E.g. Paris, BnF fr. 10132 (1318), 39r.b.17, 'aucune**s** foi**s**'; Paris, BnF fr. 183 (dated by Rouse and Rouse to 1327), 27r.b.1, 'uou**s**'; Paris, Arsenal 5204 (a collection of poetry in French c.1326–8), 5r.a.7, '**s**e**s** di**s**'. The use of long **s** in final position seems to have lasted for longer in the copying of vernacular texts than in the copying of Latin ones.

[27] Thus BnF lat. 12590 (1316), 4r.b.8.

production considered (e.g. BnF lat. 11063, dated 1260; 9r.a.4, 'io**ha**nnis'), with no consistent pattern between their use as a resource and the grade of the script.

The first letter of each voice-part is marked with a painted initial; the second letter is most commonly written by the text scribe as a majuscule *littera notabilior*.[28] Across the fascicle, majuscules drawn from a variety of scripts are found for **A**, **B**, **C**, **E**, **H**, **I**, **L**, **M**, **N**, **O**, **R**, **T**, **U**, and **Y**. Several take multiple allographs, sometimes used on the same page.[29] Little more can be done here than to mention them, for, as a feature of book hands in our period, they remain largely unresearched.[30]

To summarize, the forensic analysis of the allographs' morphology produces contradictory results. But decorative features not usually considered in a morphological approach may yield chronological data too.

## DECORATIVE FEATURES OF **MO** 8'S TEXT HAND

The scribe of **Mo** 8 used decorative hairstrokes with versatility.[31] Descenders may have hairstroke serifs added roughly at 90 degrees across the end of the stroke (e.g. 353r.Mot.1, '**p**resu[lum]', reproduced in Figure 2.2(a); here the serif terminates on the left in a curve), and hairstrokes are regularly used as a clockwise approach stroke for letters that begin with a stem or shaft, especially at the start of a word or line (e.g. 353r.Tr.3, '[sa]**p**ientie **p***ro*pinasti' reproduced in Figure 2.2(b)). Complementarily, a hairstoke rising diagonally from the baseline is often added, perhaps extending into a curve, at the end of a word or a line (e.g. 353r.Tr.3, 'gratis'; 353r.Mot.2, 'xp**i** lotu**m**', reproduced in Figure 2.2(c)). Ascenders may have 'thorn-like' diagonal hairstrokes added as serifs to their left (e.g. 353r.Tr.4, 'p**l**e**b**e',

[28] Of 127 texted parts or tenor incipits, *litterae notabiliores* mark the second letter of all but 24. In those cases, the second letter is usually the start of a new word. Remaining discrepancies do not form any pattern I have been able to detect.

[29] E.g. compare 357.Tr.1, 'I**N**', with 357.Ten.8, 'I**N**'; or 371.Tr.1, 'D**E**', with 371.Ten.8, 'D**E**'.

[30] Writing in 2003, Derolez observed that 'literature on majuscules in Gothic manuscripts is almost non-existent' (Derolez 2003, 183, n. 2). Bibliographical searches suggest that the situation remains unchanged to date: I have found no published study of *litterae notabiliores* in textualis beyond the (excellent) two pages Derolez dedicates to them (ibid., 183–4). It is Derolez's opinion that the 'form and degree of complexity [of majuscules in Gothic book script] depend to a large extent on the date of the manuscript and its origin, and on the level and the type of the minuscule script with which they are combined … The impact of the individual scribe was also important' (ibid., 183). Further study of majuscules would be extremely useful: should chronological and geographical patterns emerge in the forms that scribes chose for *litterae notabiliores*, and in the techniques by which they decorated them, they might yet help us as we date and localize manuscripts.

[31] By 'decorative features', I mean a subset of those features which Malcolm Parkes calls 'graphic ideas': 'the exploitation of particular elements or *resources of style* to embellish components of *letter shapes*, in order to enhance the image of a scribe's handwriting on the page' (Parkes 2008, 152; emphasis in the original, signalling other entries in Parkes's 'Select Glossary of Technical Terms Applied to Handwriting', ibid., 149–55).

(a) 353r.Mot.1:

(b) 353r.Tr.3:

(c) 353r.Mot.2:

(d) 353r.Tr.4:

(e) 367r.Mot.1:

(f) 353r.Mot.4:

(g) 367r.Mot.1:

(h) 356r.Mot.3:

(i) 353r.Tr.1:

Fig. 2.2 **Mo** 8, further samples of script features.

reproduced in Figure 2.2(d)),[32] a resource of style already under development in manuscripts of the 1270s,[33] and of which samples similar in manner to **Mo** 8's may be found from the mid 1280s.[34] This kind of decoration is widely used for the rest of the period considered here.

Especially striking are the descending hairlines, sometimes greatly elongated and forming a double curve, consistently added to the lower-left branch of **x** (e.g. 353r.Mot.2, '**x**pi', reproduced in Figure 2.2(c)), to the tail of **y** (e.g. 367r.Mot.1, 'E**y**a', reproduced in Figure 2.2(e)); and to the standard *–rum* and *–bus* abbreviations (e.g. 353r.Mot.4, 'sup*er*na**r***um*', reproduced in Figure 2.2(f); and 367r.Mot.1, 'cetib**3**',

[32] I am grateful to Teresa Webber for suggesting I compare these thorn-like hairstrokes to datable samples.

[33] Thus BnF lat. 5592 (1273), fols 108–39, e.g. 135r.6, '**l**ectores', where the left part of the forked ascender begins with a hairstroke approach rising diagonally; or BnF fr. 342 (1274), 5v.b.15, '**l**e'.

[34] For example BnF fr. 412 (1285), 6r.a.1, '**l**i' and 're**l**igieus'. An early example of a calligraphically ornate, formalized interpretation of this feature is provided by the very high-grade script of Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 98 (1286), e.g. 22r.2, 'u**b**i'.

reproduced in Figure 2.2(g)). This kind of hairline is also often applied to the right limb of **h** (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.4–5, 'c**h**an | ter c**h**ascun'). These components regularly descend below the baseline, sometimes forming double curves, in manuscripts from early within our period, though they are not traced with hairstrokes to begin with.[35] Hairstrokes only become common for this class of corresponding descenders in manuscripts from the 1290s,[36] but they stayed in fashion long after.[37]

## COMPARING AND DATING THE HAND: PROBLEMS, IMPLICATIONS, OPPORTUNITIES

THIS analysis will have indicated something of the breadth of elements that may vary in a scribe's work in our period, and that could be manipulated to serve the stylistic and functional preferences of readers. Each feature may have its own chronology, and the information offered here has laid out several spectra upon which **Mo** 8's script may be plotted. At their earliest, some of these stretch back to the 1260s (the exclusive use of **a** with a closed upper compartment, and fusions of **ah**, for example). Others reach forward to the 1320s and beyond. Nevertheless, two palaeographical features in particular may help us establish a firmer chronological grip on the book: the double-curved hairstroke descenders, common in their **Mo** 8 form only from the 1290s; and the continued use of oblique-shaft **d**, which has all but disappeared in the sampled manuscripts after 1305 – although the outlier already discussed recommends caution.[38] I suspect that the fascicle was copied between 1290 and 1310. This would place the fascicle at the early end of the dates suggested by Rokseth, but would be compatible with those suggested by Everist in earlier publications, and with those offered by Wolinski and Edward Roesner, though it sits at variance with the dates that Stones carefully suggests in this volume. This is a discrepancy on which I comment further below; for, even if my suggested range of twenty years were accepted, there may yet be ways to reconcile our positions, and not only by suggesting a long hiatus between the copying of the repertory and the fascicle's decoration. But I stress that earlier and later dates remain possible, and I suggest the narrower, twenty-year range with circumspection.

Perhaps unexpectedly, the uncertainty promises historical insights. Those following the references to other dated manuscripts will encounter something of the range of graphic choices, preparation styles, grades of workmanship, and kinds of text that were being copied on the Continent from the second half of the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth. This was a time when French vernacular literature came into its own alongside books in Latin, and when patrons and book producers circulated written materials beyond the institutions – predominantly monastic

[35] E.g. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château 476 (1270), 55r.a.6, 'c**h**ose' and 55r.a.12, '**Ex**plicit'.

[36] Thus Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 94 (1294), e.g. 142v.6, 'ro**y**', and 142v.8, 'c**h**il'; London, BL Add. 54180 (c.1295), e.g. 55v.a.13, 'die**x**', and 55v.a.15, 'pe**ch**ie'; Paris, Mazarine 870 (1295), e.g. 3r.a.5, 'porc**h**ace **h**onte'.

[37] For example, at the very end of the period surveyed here, see BnF lat. 11935 (1327), e.g. 6r.b.12, 'laborib**3**' and 'e**x**'.

[38] See n. 24, above.

– that had cultivated writing more exclusively in the centuries before.[39] When a particular institutional origin can be determined for a group of manuscripts, controls may readily be placed on analysis: continuity in the circumstances under which several books were made renders chronological comparisons of their hands meaningful.[40] But in this later period, when writing was not always so subject to institutional controls, the variety in the appearance of handwriting, and the abundance of possible stylistic choices, bewilders.[41] For a scribe to date a manuscript in a colophon remained unusual (though it was more common after c.1200 than it had been before),[42] and because the styles of writing and kinds of texts written down also expanded, our dated samples may be entirely incommensurable – and we have little way to tell. The result is a plethora of data that stubbornly resists processing, and which will not always yield to the questions of geography and chronology we would have it answer.

Perhaps uncovering still more secure dates and places of copying for extant manuscripts will help fill the gaps. For French vernacular books, a catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts in the BnF's *fonds français* might also help, or perhaps some resource which permitted manuscripts to be grouped, and their handwriting compared, on the basis of dialectal features of their scribes' work.[43] In the interim, the bounty of possible comparanda reminds us that, in the decades around 1300, writing could be used almost anywhere, by new demographics and perhaps beyond institutional controls. The handwriting in **Mo** 8 bears comparison

[39] The historical situation in Francophone territories has been magisterially treated by Busby 2002. On monastic vs. secular copying, see esp. 'Manufacture and Sale', 1:7–58; on locales of production, see esp. 'The Geography of the Codex', 2:485–635. For more on the Parisian book market, see Rouse and Rouse 2000.

[40] Though attributing books to particular institutions requires cautions too. See Webber 2013.

[41] Palaeographers have often taken a script's morphological features and its grade of execution as the primary means of grouping samples of handwriting into categories within which comparisons of samples may be chronologically or geographically revealing. The touchstone for that approach for books of our period is Lieftinck 1954. For an attempt to categorize some French manuscripts from the period 1225–1350 (including several consulted for this study) according both to Lieftinck's criteria and to others, see Marichal 1972. Derolez 2003 offers a refinement and expansion of Lieftinck's system; see esp. 11–27, which address some problems and opportunities of classifying script. But even when revised, categories constituted in the manner of Lieftinck are nevertheless constructed without attention to those decorative features which, according to my analysis, may traverse grades of execution, and which have significance for the dating of **Mo** 8. If the manuscripts in the appendix to this chapter had been so classified *a priori*, these chronologically significant data would have been revealed only by working across the categories, and would have been missed if comparison had proceeded only within the categories.

[42] Legendre 2008, 182.

[43] On the need for extensive palaeographical research on Old French manuscripts, see Busby 2002, 47. On the correlation of hand, scribal dialect, and authorial dialect when dating and localizing manuscripts, see Hanna 1996, 11 and *passim*. Both Busby 2002, 1:54, and Hanna 1996, 11, rightly caution that, because both scribes and manuscripts travelled, dialectal evidence for localizing a scribe does not necessarily localize a book.

with many of them. This gives pause for thought, because it contrasts starkly with the historiographical reflex by which scholars consider the French motet pre-eminently institutional, intellectual, and indeed Parisian – presuppositions that are being re-examined.[44]

## ASSESSING THE SCRIBE'S SKILL AND CARE

With this in mind, the work of **Mo** 8's scribe has more to tell us. Beyond the morphology and decoration of the script he took as a model, it is revealing to consider with what degree of skill and care the scribe performed. Under each of the eight staves on each page, a pair of lines was ruled to guide the baseline and headline of the text. In each of the eight pairs, the lines are spaced at 2.8mm.[45] However, the scribe very often positioned the baseline components of letters just *above* the lower line in each pair, and positioned headline components just *below* the upper line; thus the script's x-height is fractionally smaller than the lines' gauge. In general, the scribe aimed for a ratio of 3:1 between x-height and nib-width, with a constant pen angle of 40 degrees. The space between consecutive minim strokes is generous: roughly equal to a minim's width. Broadly speaking, the scribe aimed to place the extremes of ascending elements 50 per cent of the x-height higher than the headline (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.2, '[no]**bil**is'), and of descending components 50 per cent lower than the baseline (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.2, 'uir**g**inis'), though variations regularly occur (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.3, 'assambles': compared to the headline of **m**, the ascender of **b** reaches twice as high as the headstrokes of **ss**, and slightly higher than **l** also). A particular irregularity is visible throughout the fascicle: the descender of **q** is noticeably shorter than that of **p** (e.g. 356r.Mot.3, compare '**p**enitentium' and '**q***ui*', reproduced in Figure 2.2(h)).

The hand was not carefully controlled. The scribe often failed to maintain an even alignment of components at the baseline: characteristically, successive strokes on the vertical axis will terminate in incrementally higher positions, before resetting to the baseline. For example, at 354r.Tr. 6 (Figure 2.1), the constituent letters of 'sieuir' divide into three groups of two letters: **s**, **e**, and the second **i** sit parallel at the ruled line, but the baseline elements of the letters following them rise consecutively. Components at the headline are generally aligned with greater care, though irregularities often prevail here too. Adjacent components traced on the vertical axis may not be parallel, either within a letter or between letters (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.1, '[reconci]**li**a'). Pronounced variations are seen in curved strokes, and are best observed in the widely differing shapes taken by the two lobes of **o**: for instance, compare (in Figure 2.1) 354r.Tr.7, 'sau**o**ir' (taller than wide, its left lobe traced with a broken stroke) with 'n**o**unour' (wider than tall). Junctions

[44] An important impetus for revisionist work was given by Page 1993a. Subsequent contributions include Dillon 2012b; Curran 2013a; Curran 2014; Curran 2015; Leach 2015; and Peraino 2011, 186–234.

[45] Precision measurements have been calculated from digital images, taking as a constant for comparison the vertical dimension of the page, 192mm (as reported in Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Sources, MS, §V: Early Motet', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 6 September 2017)).

between the constituent strokes of a letter often fail, a feature frequently encountered in **r** (whose shoulder-stroke often does not begin at the stem; e.g. in Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.4, 'iouer' and 354r.Tr.5, '[chan]ter') and round **s** (whose base- and/or headstroke often separates from the curved central stem, e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r. Mot.4, 'supplices'). These features may indicate a relatively quick rate of copying.

Variation is again the keyword when decorative features are considered. The scribe knew a broad range of graphic ideas with which to embellish the components of letters. However, he did not always choose to draw from that fund, and when he did, he often did so inconsistently. At the headline, the decorative feature most frequently encountered is applied to minims: a rhomboid serif facing left, traced with a descending, diagonal motion that is part of a single but broken stroke also forming the minim's body (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.2, '**uir**ginis'). The serif may show curved vertices, or occasionally sit atop the minim (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.5, 'au**i**s'). Also found are 'flag' serifs (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354.Mot.2, '[no]bi**l**is') and, for **i** when elided with a previous termination stroke, no decoration at all (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Tr.3–4, 'r**i**[re]'). (The extremes of both ascenders and descenders are also often left undecorated, respectively beginning or ending simply with a diagonal edge at the angle of the pen: e.g. 353r.Tr.1, 'ecc**l**esie', reproduced in Figure 2.2(i); and 353r.Mot.2, 'x**p**i', reproduced in Figure 2.2(c).) Rhombs may also be applied at the base of vertical components. Thus minim strokes, at their most ornate, will break into a diagonal descent forming a rhomb, then curve sharply to finish with a rising diagonal traced with the edge of the nib (e.g. Figure 2.1, 354r.Mot.4, 'suppl**i**ces').[46] But these three elements – the broken stroke, the sharp curve, the thin-line finish – may not all appear. Thus at 354r.Mot.2 (see Figure 2.1), 'uirgin**i**s' lacks the curve and forms a point at the baseline; whereas at 354r.Mot.3, the first minim of 'tit**u**lis' lacks the diagonal, breaking only into the curve and its finishing stroke. Variations are readily observed in **m** and **n**, whose limbs may terminate differently, even in a single case (e.g. 354r.Tr.6, '**mon**des').

The significance of all this is that the scribe of fascicle 8 did not work with the same degree of care and control as the main text scribe of fascicles 2–6, whose performance was much more consistent, and whose script was of a higher grade of formality.[47] Even a glance at those portions of the manuscript quickly identifies the care with which their texts were copied. Let us look, for example, at fol. 118r in fascicle 5. Components of letters are placed on the headline and baseline with much greater precision here (e.g. 118r.1, esp. 'fremir'); letters are composed formally, with more strokes and/or from carefully broken strokes, corresponding strokes echoing one another harmoniously (e.g. the effect of braided rhombs produced

[46] This diagonal stroke is also usually applied to the shaft of **b**; the curved stems of **c** and **e**, too, may break into a corresponding stroke at the baseline.

[47] All the major palaeographical studies have numbered this the fifth hand in **Mo**. See Jacobsthal 1879, 534; Everist 1989, 119; Wolinski 1992, 266–7 (Table 1). Likewise, they all agree on the portions of the book for which he copied the upper-voice texts. As reported by Wolinski 1992 and arranged by fascicle, they are: fascicle 2, fols 23v–61r; fascicle 3, fols 63v–83r; fascicle 4, fols 87v–110v; fascicle 5, fols 111r–227r; and fascicle 6, fols 231r–269v. (Note that Wolinski reveals how often the tenor incipits in these same portions were copied by different scribes (Table 2 in ibid., 272–3), as Jacobsthal acknowledged but did not explore further (Jacobsthal 1879, 534).)

by the parallel curves in 'docete' at 118r.6); and the same decorative features are applied with greater consistency to instances of a given letter, and to corresponding elements of different letters (e.g. the flat-topped, sloping triangles produced for ascenders: 118r.7, 'sa **bel**e **b**ou**ch**ete'). The informality of fascicle 8's script, by contrast, is one indication that it was a different kind of project from the manuscript with which it is now bound.

## FROM SCRIPT TO STINTS

There are other indications too. The variations that manifest in the hand on a local scale are echoed on a grander one in the changes of the script's appearance between pieces or groups of pieces in a particular section of the manuscript. **Mo** 8 comprises six gatherings, nos. 46–51 of the manuscript, all quaternions (46: fols 350–7; 47: fols 358–65; 48: fols 366–73; 49: fols 374–81; 50: fols 382–9; 51: fols 390–7).[48] For the most part, the script of gatherings 46–8 has a unified visual effect, copied in brown ink (though the shade sometimes varies), and using pens with nibs cut essentially to the same width. The same is true, again in broad terms, for gatherings 50–1. However, in gathering 49 (which begins with the final portion of motet 323, then contains pieces 324–31 in their entirety), the appearance of the script changes more noticeably, and with remarkable frequency. From fol. 373r (the last leaf of gathering 48) to fol. 381v (the final page of gathering 49), I find eleven possible changes of writing implements – that is, changes in the shade of ink, or in the width of the nib used, or both.[49] They are listed in the far left column of Table 2.1, which also provides information about the piece before or within which each change of materials occurs.[50]

If not also for others, then it is this portion of the fascicle, with all its discrepancies of production, for which we may have reason to countenance multiple scribes. Yet in all cases, the script exhibits the same range of variation in its morphological and stylistic features, and in the means of tracing them, as we have found in earlier sections of the fascicle, where the scribal work shows fewer obvious seams. While it is not impossible that more than one hand is at work here, it seems better for now to explain the changes of appearance as the work of one hand labouring under differing circumstances, rather than to explain the very many features of morphology, decoration, and ductus that they share as the work of two or more scribes

[48] Roesner 1993, lxxvii. For a collation diagram, see Wolinski 1992, 199–200. The relevant quires are numbered 45–50 there, as Wolinski's numeration series begins with the first gathering of music rather than with the gathering containing the index.

[49] These need not exhaust the changes of writing implements: where the scribe took care to match the breadth of a new nib with the old, for example, the change of pens will naturally be difficult to detect. Conversely, some apparent changes in the colour of the ink might result from inconsistent preparation of the parchment, a simple dipping of the pen in ink (especially when the change of hue comes in the middle of a line), a trimming of the nib in the middle of a stint, and so on.

[50] The table begins with motet 322 at fol. 372r.1, because that piece was copied in the same stint as the start of 323, with which gathering 49 begins. The implications of changes I and II are provocative.

Table 2.1 Changes of pen and ink in **Mo** 8, fols 372r–381v (motets 322–31)

| *Change* | | *Location* | | | | *Situation* | | | | *Piece* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Number* | *Comments* | *Gathering* | *Page* | *Voice* | *Line* | *Start of page* | *Within page* | *Start of piece* | *Within piece* | *No.* | *Mot/ Tr start* | *Mot/Tr End* |
| | | 48 | | | | | | | | 322 | 372r.1 | 373r.4 |
| I | Change to darker ink; change to a narrower nib. | | 373r | Tr+Mot | 7 | | ✓ | | ✓ | 323 | 373r.5 | 374r.3 |
| II | Change to a darker ink. | | 373v | Tr | 5 | | ✓ | | ✓ | 323 | 373r.5 | 374r.3 |
| III | Change to narrower nib. | 49 | 374r | Mot | 4 | | ✓ | | ✓ | 324 | 374r.4 | 375r.8 |
| IV | Change to a narrower nib. | | 375r | Tr | 4 | | ✓ | | ✓ | | | |
| V | Change to a broader nib; apparent change to a lighter shade may indicate a change of ink. | | 375v | Tr+Mot | 1 | ✓ | | ✓ | | 325 | 375v.1 | 376v.4 |
| VI | Change to a narrower nib; apparent change to a lighter shade may indicate a change of ink. | | 376r | Tr+Mot | 1 | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | |
| VII | Change to a narrower nib (although the tenor incipit on fol. 376v.8 may also have been copied with the new pen); apparent change to a darker shade may indicate a change of ink. | | 377r | Tr+Mot | 1 | ✓ | | | ✓ | 326 | 376v.5 | 377v.5 |
| VIII | Change to a narrower nib. | | 377v | Tr+Mot | 6 | | ✓ | ✓ | | 327 | 377v.6 | 378r.8 |
| IX | Change to a broader nib. Change to a lighter shade may indicate a change of ink. | | 378v | Tr+Mot | 1 | ✓ | | ✓ | | 328 | 378v.1 | 379r.3 |
| X | Change to a narrower nib; apparent change to a lighter shade may indicate a change of ink. | | 379r | Tr+Mot | 4 | | ✓ | ✓ | | 329 | 379r.4 | 379v.3 |
| XI | Change to a broader nib; apparent change to a darker shade may indicate a change of ink. | | 380r | Tr+Mot | 1 | ✓ | | | ✓ | 330 | 379v.4 | 381r.3 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 331 | 381r.4 | 381v.8 |

whose training and conception of style was so minutely attuned as nearly to be indistinguishable.

Other explanations may be offered that would not require the change of appearance to result from a change of hand. For instance, the change of pen at 375r.Tr.4 (numbered IV on the list) is best explained by reference to other features of the opening of folios 374v and 375r – the fascicle's most unruly in appearance. The bleeding of the staff lines occurred because the writing surface was more absorbent here than elsewhere, while the fainter trace of the letters was caused by the increased friction from the rougher parchment, which compromised the scribe's control over strokes.[51] A nib quickly gets ragged and requires recutting or replacement under such conditions. It seems significant that the scribe should have begun the first leaf of a new gathering with parchment of markedly poorer preparation than in the rest of the fascicle.[52]

The remaining seven changes of pen and ink (nos. V–XI in Table 2.1) are not so easily explained. Let us suppose, as seems likely to me, that these instances of changed writing implements mark divisions between stints of copying, and thus hiatuses of unknowable duration.[53] Two patterns emerge in their positions. In four cases the change to new materials comes with the start of a new piece: changes V (which falls at the start of motet 325), VIII (motet 327), IX (motet 328), and X (motet 329, though its copying stint ran on into motet 330). In five cases, the change of materials comes at the top of a new page: changes V (at the top of 375v), VI (376r), VII (377r), IX (378v), and XI (380r). In only two of the cases does a change occur both with the start of a new piece *and* at the start of a new page (changes V and IX). All this stopping and starting – now at the unit of the piece, now of the page – is conspicuous, and invites explanation.

We may imagine several scenarios a jobbing scribe could have encountered that would do some of the explanatory work. For example, given that copying a whole fascicle is a substantial time commitment, it might make financial sense for the scribe to pause every so often to complete some smaller projects, or to have several larger projects on the go at once. In such a scenario, he might return to the fascicle,

[51] For example, 374v.Tr.5, 'da**m**e', where the rhomb finishing the second minim and the curve starting the third are both hollow, showing a diminished flow of ink that records the division of the tines. Judith Tschann and Malcolm B. Parkes find the same problem in a celebrated thirteenth-century English manuscript. See Tschann and Parkes 1996, xli.

[52] Similar consequences of poor-quality parchment are naturally also evident on the opening 380v–381r, the conjugate leaves of 375r and 374v, respectively. See especially the bleeding of staves on 380v.Mot.1–3 and Tr. 6. However, it is interesting that the handwriting was better controlled on this later opening. The poorer quality of the writing surface therefore does not by itself account for the greater informality of the scribe's performance at fols 374v–375r; apparently he was also taking less care here than he would when he reached fols 380v–381r.

[53] As the example of change IV has already shown, a change of writing implements does not *necessitate* a hiatus in copying. For that matter, neither does the continuity of writing implements demonstrate that there was *not* a hiatus in copying, even from one word to the next. The evidence permits a balance of probabilities, not definite declaration – a point which I expand upon below.

working with a pen and ink he had prepared for use on something else.[54] This might also explain some of those cases where a new stint of copying finishes in the middle of a piece but at the bottom of a page: the page is a convenient copying unit, and breaking the stint after filling it would better ensure an evenness to the page as an 'image'.[55] However, the fact that such changes are much less frequently apparent elsewhere in the fascicle implies that the scribe more usually copied several pieces at a time; so other interpretations of their frequency in gathering 49 (not mutually exclusive with that one) are also possible.

Another strategy would be to take these changes as palaeographical evidence for problems caused by the circulation and transmission of the repertory.[56] Perhaps at least some of the hiatuses came about because, at the point he paused, the scribe did not yet know what piece was to be copied next, maybe because he did not yet have an exemplar to hand.[57] Such a hypothesis would make particularly good sense of the four changes of materials that come with the start of a piece; and it is striking that three of those four pieces are successive. Did the supply of exemplars suddenly dry up at the time these leaves were next to be filled? Also striking are their compositional quirks. On grounds of their rhythmic texture, neither motets 327 nor 329 would be out of place alongside the three-part Latin motets in fascicle 4 of the old corpus. However, I quite agree with Karen Desmond that they are conspicuous in their oldness here in fascicle 8, and the more so for having no concordances with pieces in the earlier repertory (or indeed anywhere else).[58] Their antiquated effect is thrown into relief by the motet which divides them (no. 328), which is one of the

[54] I am grateful to Teresa Webber for this suggestion.

[55] See Parkes 2008, 127–45.

[56] My approach is modelled on that presented in the introduction to Tschann and Parkes 1996. See esp. 'The Present Construction of the Manuscript and the Evolution of the Collection', xli–xlvii.

[57] Friedrich Ludwig made a similar point about **Mo** 8's *Sammlung* (collection or compilation) of motets, because of the 'jumbled' (*durcheinander*) order of its varied pieces, suggesting that the collector 'included the works as he came to know of them' ('Wie der Sammler diese Werke kennenlernte, nahm er sie auf'; Ludwig 1978, 566.) Insightfully, he wrote: 'The lively interest for all these genres that the collector was able to assume on the part of the circle for which this collection was intended speaks with a resonant immediacy directly from this composition of the fascicle' ('Das lebhafte Interesse, das der Sammler bei dem Kreis, für den diese Sammlung bestimmt war, für alle diese Gattungen voraussetzen durfte, spricht mit voller Unmittelbarkeit gerade aus dieser Zusammensetzung des Faszikels', ibid.). But Ludwig believed that the manuscript itself was much later (placed well into the fourteenth century: see Ludwig 1978, 350 and 547) than the repertory it transmitted (placed at the end of the thirteenth century: see ibid., I/2:566). Elsewhere Ludwig expressly distinguished **Mo** 8 the *Sammlung* from **Mo** 8 the *Niederschrift* ('copy') of that *Sammlung*, taking the opportunity to declare the study of manuscripts 'for the most part irrelevant' ('meist irrelevant') to his historical concerns (Ludwig 1923, 206, n.1). My suggestion here is almost the inverse of Ludwig's: some unusual properties of **Mo** 8's repertory may result from the exigencies of copying **Mo** 8 the fascicle; and we stand to learn as much (if not more) about musical communities from manuscripts as we do from pieces. Again, see Hanna 1996, esp. 7–13 ('Introduction'), and 21–34 ('Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations').

[58] See Desmond's commentary to these pieces in the present volume, p. 145.

most notoriously 'modern' of the whole book: *Amor potest/Ad amorem/TENOR*, probably in binary third mode.[59] Might this series of pieces, each copied separately and after a hiatus, have been very recently composed indeed (as Desmond argues in her essay in this volume)?[60]

Some of the changes of pen and ink may shed light on the grouping of the pieces in their exemplars. Where a single copying stint runs over the end of piece X and the start of piece Y, we might posit that the scribe had a copy of Y to hand at the point when he began to copy X; then, by examining how stints overlap the boundaries of pieces in this way, we could group the motets into 'clusters' of simultaneously available pieces.[61] Let us suppose, for the sake of discussion, that the copying clusters most likely to signal something about exemplar groupings are those demarcated by stints that coincide with the start of a piece; and let us further disregard for now stints which fall within the middle of a piece but at the top of a page, assuming them merely to signal a place where the scribe found it convenient to break stints without compromising the appearance of a page as a visual unit (the scenario we considered above). (Needless to say, there are problems with all of these assumptions; we will deal with some of them shortly.) Five clusters would emerge: i) motets 322, 323, and 324; ii) 325 and 326; iii) 327; iv) 328; v) 329, 330, and 331. If some of these indeed reflect exemplar groupings, it might then be thought tidy to find some principle (continuity of style, of shared tenor, etc.) according to which the pieces in each set cohere. Wolinski presents convincing evidence from **Mo** fascicles 2–6 for the ordering of exemplars by tenor,[62] and Anna Kathryn Grau in this volume makes a case that motets 338–43 in **Mo** 8 (390r.Tr.6/Mot.7–396r.Ten.8) may have circulated together in an exemplar too.[63] But no such principles are really apparent in gathering 49: the best I can do is to observe that the only two motets in this gathering with concordances in other manuscripts are consecutively placed here (nos. 330 and 331, though they have no other sources in common[64]), and that they share a similar incipit in one of their voices (the motetus of 330 begins 'Descendi', the triplum of 331, 'Descendendo'). But we have no way to verify the assumption that like pieces must have travelled with like, at least for unica. It seems at least as likely that motets might have travelled together simply because they were motets, or indeed that pieces of music travelled together because they were pieces of music.

[59] On which, see Sanders 1962, 249, and the other studies cited there. For contrasting interpretations of its metre, compare Wolinski 1992, 152–5.

[60] p. 145.

[61] A strategy inspired by Tschann and Parkes 1996, xlvi, who argue that Scribe A of their manuscript 'seems to have copied from different exemplars as they came to hand. This procedure is suggested by the way in which texts of different kinds, or in different languages, appear in "clusters".'

[62] Wolinski 1988, 50–8.

[63] Grau, Chapter 7. On a preliminary consideration of the copying stints, I suspect that these six pieces fall into three palaeographical clusters: i) 338; ii) 339–41; and iii) 342–3. That 339–41 at the least should have been in a single exemplar seems to me a very likely conclusion, the palaeographical evidence complementing that of the unusual stylistic features they share.

[64] For the sources of motet 330, see van der Werf 1989, 132; for motet 331, see ibid., 135–6.

However, when the final copying stint of X continues into Y, although the scribe *may* have had an exemplar to hand earlier, he would not have *had* to until he began that stint.[65] Thus the choice to pause before starting a new page might in itself be compatible with the hypothesis that exemplars were scarce: in such a scenario, it might sometimes be prudent to delay copying the end of piece X until Y was in hand, lest some musical feature of either (e.g. an unusually active tenor requiring unexpected space) necessitated a layout adaptation at their dovetail. This may explain the new writing implements at 376r.1 within motet 326 (change VI in Table 2.1). The two texted parts do not justify at the right margin on their last line (376r.7). This may be because the tenor's next grapheme will be a ligature of seven pitches (376v.Ten.8). Nowhere in the fascicle does a notator write two successive breves as *simplices* if they do not carry syllables, and evidently he did not want to start now. One can well imagine that the scribe spotted that ligature (the longest in the piece) when scanning the exemplar for tricky passages, quickly estimated that it would fall near the page turn, and then held off from beginning fol. 376r until he knew how much space the ligature could be given on the verso.

All of these strategies would complement **Mo** 8's page-preparation. The scribe disposes the upper-voice staves into two columns of equal width, and rules the tenor's staff across the whole frame, but then he joins the staves across the inter-columnar gap *ad hoc* to accommodate pieces with discrepant rhythmic textures in their different parts. Such a method allows any piece to follow any other; and thus the ruling may itself reflect a pragmatic adaptation to the exigencies of uncertain circulation, when a scribe might not know what piece was coming next.[66] This is in contrast to fascicle 7, in which pieces of similar style are grouped together more often, and into sections with bespoke ruling frames tailored to fit them.[67]

But again, other interpretations are possible. Return for a moment to fol. 376v, and notice that the tenor's notation is compressed to match the width of the upper-voice column, to which dimension its staff was also ruled (leaving a gap into which the initial 'B' was subsequently painted). This is the only instance in **Mo** 8 where the tenor staff was *not* ruled across the full writing frame. Moreover, on fol. 379v, lines 6 and 7 of the rapid-fire triplum are ruled *ab initio* across the whole writing frame – and this is the only place in the fascicle where the triplum *was* so ruled.[68] On the face of it, this would seem compelling evidence of advance planning. It surely cannot be chance that the only two such tailored rulings are on conjugate leaves (surrounding

[65] To split hairs: it is theoretically possible that Y's exemplar could have arrived by chance in the time it took the scribe to copy X's remainder.

[66] Writing about Middle English textual production primarily of the fifteenth century, Hanna 1996, 31, observes: 'in the era preceding a national canon, scribes and stationers were never aware of the totality of literary production and could always reasonably expect that the most important text they could transmit in any chosen context might be the one that would only come to hand next week.' A similar motivation seems to lie behind the *mise en page* of the motets in the La Clayette manuscript. See Curran 2013a, 239.

[67] On which, see Everist 1989, 132–4.

[68] The scribe's usual procedure for accommodating a triplum livelier than the lower parts was to connect the pre-ruled staves of the left and right columns across the gap *ad hoc*: the following page (fol. 380r) is a good example.

the inner bifolium on fols 377–8); and this is only confirmed by the fact that all staves on both sides of folio 376, and also its conjugate 379, are ruled with a rastrum of narrower gauge than their facing pages, one which is not used elsewhere in the fascicle.[69] The scribe would have had to know at the point when he began fol. 376r (within motet 325) not only that motet 330 was available but that it would begin precisely at 379v.4. Yet such foresight would have bordered on the clairvoyant, given the position of fol. 379v within the copying stints set out in Table 2.1, and given that not one of the page boundaries of folios 376r, 376v, 379r, or 379v corresponds with the start or end of a motet. A better explanation than clairvoyance is that the bifolium 376/379 was a second attempt at copying the reported contents, and corrected an error after the rest of the gathering was filled. Given all the problems that the scribe did *not* find worthy of *ex post facto* alteration, it would be fascinating to know what he beheld in the first attempt at fols 376/379 that moved him to intervene. But that lies beyond what we can know; it therefore marks a boundary of sorts. All that remains to signal the error he replaced is the error the scribe introduced: the discrepancy in the gauge of the staves that sets this bifolium off from its neighbours.

What might this mean for the copying clusters I distinguished above, and for the hypothesis that some may have resulted from exemplar groupings? In brief: it would reinforce some elements of that hypothesis, and might or might not undermine others. This is in keeping with the broader issue about what is a datum and what a hypothesis in this sort of manuscript work, and, by extension, about what we do and do not yet know about **Mo**.

The maximum number of clusters that could have been formed by the four motets 328–331 would have been three, the minimum, one.[70] If only a single cluster were supposed – and, on that basis, only a single exemplar for all four pieces – we

[69] A difference spotted by Wolinski 1988, 18, n. 5. The gauge of the staves on fol. 375v is 11.5mm, but on fol. 376r is 10mm. This narrower gauge is reproduced with minute precision across all staves on the bifolium fols 376/379, and at the right margin of 376r.Ten.8, all five staff lines curve downwards in parallel. These two features meet respectively the first and fifth of John Haines's five criteria indicating the use of a rastrum; see Haines 2008, 363–6. Conversely, it is not clear to me that a rastrum was always used in the rest of the fascicle.

[70] At greater length: we cannot know whether on his first attempt (i.e. on the leaf now replaced by fol. 376v) the scribe continued into motet 326 using the same pen and ink with which he had just finished 325. If he did not, and we could tell, those two motets would each have constituted a 'cluster' of its own according to the criteria being applied here. If we were furthermore to suppose, for the sake of discussion, that a copying cluster may represent an exemplar (and, again, it need not), this alternative scenario would give still more cause to wonder whether the supply of exemplars was patchy at this point in production, and why only one piece at a time was available.

Likewise, if the bifolium of fols 376/379 is a second copy of a rejected bifolium, we cannot know whether the juncture of motets 328 and 329 (change X, fol. 379r) was originally marked with a change of materials – nor indeed that the juncture of 329 and 330 was *not* so marked. Exhausting the possible combinations of these two binaries (change/not-change between motets 328 and 329, and change/not-change between 329 and 330) would leave us (under the same hypothetical conditions assumed above, with their same attendant uncertainties) with four possible clustering patterns, as follows (a slash dividing one cluster from another): (i) 328/329/330–1; (ii) 328/329–31; (iii) 328–9/330–1; (iv) 328–31.

might further imagine that the scribe resolved the problem of poor access to repertoire that he had faced. Conversely, if as many as three clusters and then three exemplars were posited, we might imagine that his problems continued. But neither of these hypotheses affects the rapid succession of material changes detectable in motets 322–7: that invites interpretation either way, even if a full and definitive explanation lies beyond grasp. And the fact that we could never know which (if any) of the imagined scenarios is correct reinforces the broader points that are, as should by now be clear, this essay's central themes: that certain features of manuscripts may draw attention to themselves over others, but that uncertainty may remain about their significance even after those features are studied carefully, such that we are reminded of the need to recognize hypotheses as hypotheses, and the need for openness to revising those hypotheses as more evidence emerges.[71]

## **Mo** BEYOND PARIS?

MANY of the interpretations I have offered for the oddities of gathering 49 would contextualize fascicle 8 within the kinds of 'decentralized' literary production and circulation studied pre-eminently by Ralph Hanna for English contexts,[72] and compatible with the wealth of evidence that Keith Busby has offered for vernacular literary and manuscript production throughout the Francophone regions.[73] The compilers of the old corpus, definitely working in Paris, clearly had ready access to a vast archive of pieces.[74] But there is reason to suggest that the compilers of **Mo** 8 did not. So we should entertain the possibility that **Mo** 8 was not made in Paris.

The suggestion that some portion of **Mo**, and especially **Mo** 8, may have originated outside Paris has a long scholarly pedigree. As early as 1927, Heinrich Besseler posited a 'provincial' origin for **Mo** 8's repertoire, perhaps in central France, around Orléans.[75] In part as a challenge to Besseler's comment, Rokseth suggested that **Mo** 8's 'disparate and complex collection' of pieces was drawn from several 'écoles' of music from Paris through to England;[76] she proposed two institutions where **Mo** might have been made or owned – not only the collegiate church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris, but also the Abbey of Saint-Germain in Auxerre itself (which, she observed, enjoyed close ties with Insular houses).[77] RISM reports Gilbert

[71] Putting things this way lays clear my very great debt to Richard Crocker. See esp. Crocker 1995.

[72] Hanna 1996, 13, and *passim*. See also Hanna 2009; and (for a decentralizing take on London as a 'local' centre of production) Hanna 2005.

[73] Busby 2002. In its aim to survey so vast a terrain of book production, Busby's breathtaking study does not often have space to defend the codicological unity of a given manuscript, and to specify at what point in the manuscript's history it took its final shape.

[74] Though lacuna in their work suggest that they hit problems too. For palaeographical analysis of incomplete pieces in the old corpus, see Parsoneault 2001, 111–29.

[75] Besseler 1926–7, 143 and n. 2.

[76] Rokseth 1935–9, 4:85; for her critique of Besseler, see 4:92.

[77] Ibid., 4:33.

Reaney's assessment that 'the manuscript corpus seems to be Parisian in origin, though fascicle 8 may well be from further east'.[78] If a consensus really settled on a Parisian origin for **Mo** 8, it came only later, and more because conversation trailed off than because argument had persuaded.

Alison Stones has now found a comparison for **Mo** 8's artwork in a manuscript probably made in Ghent.[79] This is fascinating indeed (as is the contrast between the high quality of **Mo** 8's art and the informality of its script); and it suggests a way in which my position may yet be reconciled with hers. Under my own assumption that **Mo** 8 must be a product of Parisian workmanship, my palaeographical research was conducted on the basis of comparisons with dated and datable manuscripts of French, and particularly Parisian, origin, and preserved in French libraries. Notwithstanding the cautions voiced above about the comparative method, one wonders whether another search for datable comparisons using manuscripts from the southern Low Countries would yield its greatest number of 'hits' in a different sub-period than that of 1290–1310, which seems the best fit with the dataset chosen here. Should those palaeographical comparisons prove more compelling, we might then have further grounds to suppose that, by the time that fascicle 8 was added to the rest of the manuscript, its makers were looking back on the supposedly Parisian tradition that it caps, not only from across time, but also from afar.

This assumes that fascicle 8 was indeed made to be an addition to the rest of the manuscript. Those who have argued that case point out that **Mo** 8's writing frame has similar dimensions to the rest of the manuscript, and its art may have been painted by a hand also found in fascicle 7 and perhaps other fascicles (as we have seen).[80] But there is at least one more palaeographical hurdle. We have long known that fascicle 8 has its own foliation series in Arabic numerals running from 1 to 48 (though much of it has not survived trimming): that was the prime reason why Rokseth thought fascicle 8 of **Mo** was once fascicle 1 of another manuscript of which the remainder no longer survives.[81] I agree with Wolinski's palaeographical assessment that they are not fourteenth-century numerals but were added later.[82] So I echo her sentiment that 'we cannot assume that the actions of the sixteenth-century foliator had any connection with the circumstances surrounding **Mo**'s compilation in the thirteenth [or, I would add, fourteenth] century'.[83] But we must now ask again what compilational significance the foliation *does* have, and of what period in the book's history it speaks. Until satisfactorily explained, **Mo** 8's foliation leaves open the possibility that the fascicle may indeed have been conceived as a separate book at some point, perhaps from the beginning – a possibility back on

[78] Reaney 1966, 273.

[79] See p. 75–7 in this volume.

[80] See n. 8, above.

[81] Rokseth 1935–9, 4:26; as reported and critiqued by Wolinski 1992, 287.

[82] Wolinski 1992, 287, finds their morphology 'characteristic of fifteenth-century Italian and sixteenth-century manuscripts'.

[83] Ibid.

the table now that Stones has rejected earlier claims that the artist who painted the major initials of fascicle 8 also painted those of fascicle 7's supplements.[84]

## IN LIEU OF CONCLUSIONS

QUESTIONS remain. Even after the severely close analysis offered here, written largely on the back of work with digital images, the intimacy of detail with which the hand may be described contrasts sharply with what remains unknown.[85]

In the foregoing paragraphs, I have sought to communicate something of the 'loquaciousness' of portions of fascicle 8,[86] responding to their striking discontinuities by arraying them in a narrative of scribal behaviours.[87] Yet I hope also to have shown how often the features observed may permit other interpretations, and, indeed, how often they seem to refuse interpretation entirely, at least for now. If there are lessons here, first among them is that even about this, our most prized anthology manuscript of the *Ars antiqua* motet, so very much remains unexplained. **Mo** – to say nothing of other manuscripts of our period – still has secrets to disclose. As it does so, it may tell us historical stories about musical communities, professionals, writers, circulation, performance, and environments that are different from those that we habitually tell when speaking of the motet, and of Parisian music. In principle, at least some of what we have not yet learned about **Mo**, and about the motet, may be knowable, if we continue to examine this manuscript and others with care and with patience.[88]

The rate at which it may reveal those secrets will depend on many other kinds of institutional change that we witness now and may witness in the years ahead,[89] and

[84] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2: Cat. I-24.

[85] On the intimacy produced by work with manuscripts, and especially digital reproductions of them, see Dillon 2012a, 4–5.

[86] I take this notion of the 'loquaciousness' of things (their propensity to 'give rise to an astonishing amount of talk') from Daston 2004, 11. Note that Ludwig registered something of the fascicle's loquaciousness too: see n. 57, above.

[87] The loquaciousness that I identify here is an historiographical one, emergent in and unto forms of scholarly scrutiny that seek data for the social history of music. But music books may have been talkative in their own time, too, in numerous ways. On that point, see Emma Dillon's compelling assemblage of music books among other eloquent – indeed, songful – things of later medieval material culture (Dillon 2016). Grateful thanks to Prof. Dillon for sharing a copy of that work in advance of publication.

[88] This is to adopt a position between two other optimistic stances: Hanna's, that we may yet 'localize a far larger number of manuscripts than most researchers have previously assumed' (Hanna 1996, 12); and Caroline Walker Bynum's, that 'the writing of history must come to terms gracefully with the incomplete', and that we should enjoy 'confidence in the revisions the future will bring' (Bynum 1992, 10).

[89] Which is to agree with Daston that 'it is neither entirely arbitrary nor entirely entailed which objects will become eloquent when, and in what cause' (Daston 2004, 15); but also to stress that their eloquence changes with the questions that we ask of them and the means (including digital mediations and manipulations) that we develop for pursuing answers. Their eloquence varies in time, because the networks of human affiliation and interest that incorporate them vary too. See (among many more) Born, 2005, and the anthropological studies cited there.

from which scholarship – a worldly pursuit – is not and should not be shielded. The unprecedented detail with which we may now look at manuscripts via the mediation of digital images, from afar and at length, unquestionably represents progress, and many more of us can work with medieval books than ever before. But the requisite resources for photographing manuscripts and making images available to readers are expensive, and, like the time and tools required for studying manuscripts closely, those resources remain – as such resources have always been – unevenly distributed across libraries, countries, and demographics within and beyond the scholarly community (and this should always be borne in mind when returning to the codicological and palaeographical scholarship on a medieval book). Even in some libraries or other institutions where resources are currently ample, ongoing provision may not be guaranteed; and, of course, there is much in the world besides manuscript studies for which better provisions are needed too.

But perhaps all this forges an unforeseen historical connection. Musicians and scholars of the later thirteenth century were, I suspect, as aware as we are of living in a time of rapid change in technologies of musical production, circulation, and preservation,[90] and that the relations between musical practices and the institutions that provided for them were similarly in flux. Perhaps that is one reason why the thirteenth century and its manuscripts are so talkative in current scholarship. Our different times have much to say to one another.

## APPENDIX

The following handlist assembles dated manuscripts of French origin, particularly from Paris and the surrounding regions, and attempts to be meaningfully broad while remaining manageable in scope. Manuscripts have been selected for comparison using the available catalogues of dated and datable books in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, because the BnF's manuscripts are now available so substantially online and may therefore be checked readily by the reader following my argument here. Of course, the collection in which a book is now housed has no necessary relation to its place of origin; but dated books are not plentiful, so those without determined origins have been retained in the list. The scribe of **Mo** 8 writes in the same manner whether copying Latin or French, so comparisons may be sought in manuscripts written in both languages. The available resources, however, are weighted towards texts written in Latin: no catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts comparable to those of the BnF's *fonds latin* has been made for the *fonds français*, though such a reference tool would be a tremendous aid to palaeographical scholarship on vernacular French texts. Remaining volumes in the *Manuscrits datés* series, both old and new, do little to redress the imbalance. To at least try to address this lacuna, further shelfmarks have been sought in published works by the manuscript scholars Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, and Alison Stones, and in an album of thirteenth-century French vernacular manuscripts prepared by Le Centre national de recherche scientifique (CNRS) with the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT), Paris (all listed below). In all cases, a

[90] On technological change in relation to the *motet enté*, see Peraino 2011, 186–235.

reference has been given to the scholarly source where the argument about a manuscript's date has been made.

From the lists available, manuscripts have been selected from between 1260 and 1330, so as to cover the range of dates within which all recent commentators agree **Mo** 8 must have been compiled. In general, only books securely dated to one or two years have been included in my list, though manuscripts given a slightly broader range of years have been included where a decade would otherwise show a dearth of comparanda. Most manuscripts in the listed studies which meet those criteria have been retained, though I have removed books of certain southern European origin. So the strangeness of this assortment of manuscripts therefore stems for the most part from the uneven ways in which catalogues make dated material available to us. (Given all they have done to help us ameliorate the situation, the authors of the studies out of which I have supplemented the haul from *DD* are greatly to be thanked.) No further attempt has been made to categorize or impose order on the array, for to do so would involve a host of assumptions that there is not space to examine.

## Catalogues and Studies from Which Manuscripts Were Selected for the Handlist

*AMF*: Maria Careri, Françoise Fery-Hue, Françoise Gasparri, Geneviève Hasenohr, Gillette Labory, Sylvie Lefèvre, Anne-Françoise Leurquin, and Christine Ruby, *Album de manuscrits français du XIII^e^ siècle: mise en page et mise en texte* (Rome, 2001). References in the handlist take the form *AMF* 35, meaning '*notice* 35 in *AMF*'.

*AS*: Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France, 2 vols. each in 2 parts (London and Turnhout, 2013–14). References in the handlist give the page number in the list of 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts' (Part I, vol. 1: 81–9) upon which the manuscript is mentioned, then the number under which Stones catalogues and describes it, in the following format: *AS* p.84/I-27 means 'page 84, catalogue number I-27'. Not all dated manuscripts in Stones's list have their own description, and hence catalogue number; following her practice in her 'Summary List of Manuscripts' (Part I, vol. 1: 53–80), a catalogue number given in square brackets in my handlist refers the reader to the description of another manuscript, but in which our own is also discussed.

*DD*: *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, published under the direction of Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, 7 vols. each in 2 parts (Paris, 1959–84). Descriptive notices about the manuscripts are in part 1 of each volume, plates in part 2. References in the handlist therefore take the following form: *DD* II: p.221/pl.XXX = *DD* volume II: in part 1 see page 221 for the text; in part 2 see plate XXX for the image.

Only volumes 1–3 (which together cover all Parisian libraries, and almost the entirety of the BnF's *fonds latin*) were consulted. Both the notices and the images of *DD* volumes 2 and 3 may be consulted online:

Vol. II: *Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin (Nos. 1 à 8000)*, 2 parts, under the direction of M.-T. d'Alverny, with notices established by M. Garand, M. Mabille, and J. Metman (Paris, 1962).

Part 1 (text): http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4827f
Part 2 (plates): http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4828r

Vol. III: *Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin (Nos. 8001 à 18613)*, 2 vols., under the direction of M.-T. d'Alverny, with notices established by M.-C. Garand and D. Escudier (Paris, 1964).

Part 1 (text): http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k48292
Part 2 (plates): http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4830j

*RR*: Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000).

## Structure of Entries in the List

Entries are arranged in chronological order. After the date, up to five further points of information may be offered, separated by full stops:

- The manuscript's shelfmark.
- The author and title of the book's first text. The presence of further texts is signaled with 'etc.' or a designation of kind in the case of liturgical books or collections of documents (i.e. 'breviary', 'cartulary', and so on).
- The origin of the book, if known. When an origin cannot be determined, I have reported in square brackets any information from the cited scholarly source that may be relevant to the manuscript's origin or early provenance. If there is no such information, this part of the entry is omitted entirely.
- The reference to the catalogue or study from which the manuscript was selected.
- A URL to online images of the manuscript, where available.

The sources from which I have assembled this list of manuscripts are formatted according to different priorities; I have sought to standardize the data across the set, where it is possible to do so without misrepresenting the position of the authors in whose work I learned of a listed manuscript, and to whose scholarship I refer the reader. Where the library's website hosts an online description or catalogue entry for the manuscript (there is unfortunately not space here to signal when this is the case), it has been consulted when choosing a standardized form of an author's name and of the title of its text (though, because such descriptions are often unrevised digitizations of much older catalogues, what has been found there has not always been followed). For manuscripts containing texts in French, we are greatly

fortunate to benefit from the work of the IRHT in *Section romane*, whose database JONAS (see http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr) contains a record for every known manuscript transmitted in the *langue d'oïl*, cross-referenced with files for all known Old French texts (a mammoth task, not yet complete). Where available, the JONAS record for each Old French manuscript has been consulted, the title standardized against the version there.

All entries appear in the following format:

**Date** Shelfmark. Title of first work in relevant portion of the manuscript, *or* category of manuscript. Origin *or* [origin which is marked with a question mark of caution in *DD*] *or* [information on provenance]. Reference to the catalogue or study from which the manuscript was selected. URL if available online.

## Handlist of Dated and Datable Manuscripts Consulted

**1260** BnF lat. 11063. Cartulary. Saint-Jean-en-Vallée-lès-Chartres, Eure-et-Louire. *DD* III: p.217/pl.XLIX.

**1267** BnF lat. 6755 (fols 61–70). Aristotle, *Liber de secretis secretorum*, etc. Saint-Feuillien-du-Roeulx, Belgium. *DD* II: p.373/pl.XXXI. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432452m.

**1267** BnF lat. 11728. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*. *DD* III: p.251/pl.LIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721530p.

**1267** Paris, Arsenal 3516. Bible, selections in French translation, etc. [Dialect: Artois/Picardy]. *AMF* 35. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55000507q.

**1268** BnF lat. 8447 (fols 1–57). Miscellany of grammatical texts. [Scribe: Petrus de Almeneschis]. *DD* III: p.57/pl.LIII.

**1268** Paris, Arsenal 3139. *Le Chevalier au cygne*, chanson de geste. *DD* I: p.155/pl.XIV.

**1269** BnF lat. 4427 (fols 241–324). *Libri Feudorum*, with gloss, etc. *DD* II: p.221/pl.XXX. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077888h.

**1270** BnF lat. 15133. Evrardus de Bethunia, *Graecismus*, with gloss. *DD* III: p.401/pl.LVII.

**1270** BnF lat. 15143 (fols 199–241). Ovid, *Tristia*, with gloss. *DD* III: p.401/pl.LVII.

**1270** BnF lat. 15467. Bible. [Paris?]. *DD* III: p.429/pl.LVI.

**1270** Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château 428 (912). Hugutio Pisanus, *Liber derivationum*. Sens, Yonne. *DD* I: p.29/pl.XVI.

**1270** Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château 476 (644). Gossuin de Metz, *L'image du monde*, etc. *DD* I: p.35/pl.XV.

**1273** BnF lat. 5592 (fols 108–39). *Constitutiones fratrum Praedicatorum*. Paris. *DD* II: p.277/pl.XXXII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065930r.

**1273–4** BnF fr. 24276. Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Commencement de la sapience des signes* (French translation), etc. Malines, Flanders. *AMF* 49.

**1274** BnF fr. 342. *Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, selections. [Dialect: Northern France]. *AMF* 33.

**1274** BnF lat. 3517 (fols 1–30). Alan of Lille, *De planctu naturae*. *DD* II: p.175/pl.XXXII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4828r/f78.image.

**1275** BnF lat. 13222. Breviary and Missal. Abbey of Saint-Pièrre, Corbie. *DD* III: p.319/pl.LXIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9080804x/f1.item.

**1276** BnF lat. 523A. Thomas of Cantimpré, *De natura rerum*. [C.14/15 ex libris to Saint-Éloi, Oise]. *DD* II: p.19/pl.XXXIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90684425/f1.item.

**1276** BnF lat. 8422. Alexander de Villadei, *Doctrinale*, with gloss. [Scribe: Galterus de Frolesyo]. *DD* III: p.53/pl.LXIII.

**1276–7** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2200. Gossuin de Metz, *L'image du monde*, etc. *DD* I: p.347/pl.XVII. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=13418.

**1278** BnF lat. 8116. Galterius de Castellione, *Alexandreis*, with gloss. Saint-Pourçain, Allier. *DD* III: p.13/pl.LXIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90783082.

**1282** BnF lat. 14596. Sermon collection. *DD* III: p.371/pl.LXVI.

**1282** Paris, Mazarine 844. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in Sententias*. *DD* I: p.259/pl.XVIII. http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/ouvrages/ouvrages.php?id=7310&indexCourant=0.

**1283** BnF lat. 3538. Guillelmus Peraldus, *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*. [Scribe: Haymo de Megneio, curatus de Mericuria; northern France?]. *DD* II: p.177/pl.XXXV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4828r/f84.vertical.

**1283** BnF lat. 17551. Adam, clericus episcopi Clarmontensis, *Flores historiarum ex Speculo historiali Vincentii Bellovacensis*. [Scribe: Theobaldus de Asperomonte]. *DD* III: p.585, pl.LXVII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107212992.

**1285** BnF fr. 412. *Vies de saints*. Hainault? *AMF* 37. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84259980.

**1285** BnF lat. 10105 (fols 114–220). Thomas Capuanus, *Summa dictaminis*. *DD* III: p.153/pl.LXVIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067663q.

**1285–6** BnF fr. 1633. Girart d'Amiens, *Meliacin*. Paris. *RR* I:107–8. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10509758f.

**1286** BnF lat. 478 (fols 42–69). Ps. Aristotle, *De plantis*, etc. *DD* II: p.15/pl.XXXV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90661628.

**1286** BnF lat. 8246[1] (fols 1–22). Ovid, *Liber de remedio amoris*, with gloss. *DD* III: p.25/pl.LXIX.

**1286** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 98. Missal (fragment). [Scribe: Philippus de ciuitate Trecensi]. *DD* I: p.323/pl.CLXXVII. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=13196.

**1288** Paris, Arsenal 352. Miscellany. [Scribe: Guillelmus Ade de Nonanto]. *DD* I: p.87/pl.XIX–XX.

**1288** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 1403. Miscellany. [Owner: Stephani Cordonis, Carmelite convent of Dijon]. *DD* I: p.343/pl.XXI.

**1289** BnF lat. 15158. Cato, *Disticha*, with gloss. [Scribe: Iohannes de Curia Suessonicus]. *DD* III: p.403/pl.LXXII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525025038.

**1289** Paris, Arsenal 854. Guido Faba, *Summa dictaminis*. Orléans. *DD* I: p.115/pl.XXII.

**1289–90** Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.759. The 'Beaupré' Antiphoner. Tournai/Cambrai/Thérouanne. *AS* p.83/III-81. http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W759/.

**1290** BnF lat. 10940 (fols 49–80). Guido de Munois, *De gestis abbatum Germani Autissiodorensis*. Saint-German d'Auxerre. *DD* III: p.213/[no plate]. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077944p.

**1290s** BL Add. 28162. *Somme le Roi*. Paris. *RR* I:146. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?index=7&ref=Add_MS_28162.

**1291** BnF lat. 9885. Cartulary. Saint-Nicolas de Crisenon. *DD* III: p.141/pl.LXXII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90767364.

**c.1292** Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 21000. The 'Murthly' Hours. Paris. *AS* p.84/I-27. http://digital.nls.uk/murthlyhours/.

**1293** BnF lat. 8942. *Codex Justinianus*. *DD* III: p.101/pl.LXXIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90782739.

**1294** BnF fr. 938. *Somme le Roi*. Paris. *RR* I:146. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84478782.

**1294** BnF lat. 15035 (fols 1–55). Robert Kilwardby, *Commentum in Priscianum minorem*. *DD* III: p.395/pl.LXXIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076818j.

**1294** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 94. Gérard de Montreuil, *Vie de saint Eloi*. Arras. *AS* p.84/III-13. http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/s/49hbq6.

**1295** Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibl. mun. 192. *Guillaume d'Orange*. Saint-Omer/Cambrai. *AS* p.84/III-123. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=117.

**1295** Paris, Arsenal 734. Aegidius Romanus, *Expositio in posteriora analytica Aristotelis*. [C.14 mark of ownership: Augustinian convent of Paris]. *DD* I: p.109/pl.XXIII.

**1295** Paris, Mazarine 870. *Somme le Roi*. Paris. *RR* I:146. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84790120.

**c.1295** BL Add. 54180. *Somme le Roi*. Paris. *RR* I:146. http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_54180.

**1296** BnF lat. 9187. Customary of Toulouse, with gloss. Toulouse. *DD* III: 103/pl.LXXVI. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105090434.

**1296** Paris, Arsenal 534. Guillelmus de Sancto Clodoaldo, *Calendarium reginae*. [C.15 ex libris to Saint-Victor, Paris]. *DD* I: p.97/pl.XXV.

**1297** Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibl. mun. 131. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*. Saint-Omer. *AS* p.85/[III-117]. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=12006.

**1297** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2899. *Somme le Roi*, etc. [Owner: Franciscan convent of Southampton, by 1317]. *AMF* 47.

**1298** BnF fr. 24368. *Roman d'Aubery le Bourguignon*. [Dialect: Picard]. *AMF* 18. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9063751m.

**1298** BnF lat. 16678 (fols 40–212). Hugutio Pisanus, *Liber derivationum*. Bolbec, Seine-Maritime. *DD* III: p.557/pl.LXXVIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90726673.

**1299** BnF lat. 9444. Missal, Cistercian. [Notre-Dame de Grandselve (?), Tarn-et-Garonne]. *DD* III: p.115/pl.LXXVIII.

**1299** BnF lat. 16609. Radulphus de Hotot, *Quaestiones super libros posteriorum Aristotelis*. [Scribe: Ricardus dictus Herout de Estarvilla (Étréville, Eure)]. *DD* III: p.551/pl.LXXIX. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067744q.

**1301** BnF lat. 4522. *Codex Justinianus*, with gloss. Lyon. *DD* II: p.223/pl.XXXVIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90782487.

**1302** Auch, Bibl. mun. 3. *Liber de laudibus beate Marie virginis*. Auch or Toulouse. *AS* p.86/VIII-22. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=1255.

**1302–3** BL Yates Thompson 8. Breviary. Verdun/Metz. *AS* p. 86/IV-16a. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8114&CollID=58&NStart=8.

**1302–3** Verdun, Bibl. mun. 107. Breviary. Verdun/Metz. *AS* p.86/IV-16b. http://www1.arkhenum.fr/bm_verdun_ms/_app/index.php?tri=&saisie=107.

**1303** Rennes, Bibl. mun. 593. *Calendrier de la reine*, etc. Paris. *RR* II:179. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=5223.

**1304** BnF lat. 17770 (fols 1–127). Ado, *Martyrologium*, etc. Saint-Pierre, Corbie. *DD* III: p.593.

**1304** Paris, Mazarine 836. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in primum librum sententiarum*. [C.14 ex libris from Saint-Victor, Paris]. *DD* I: p.257/XXVII. http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/.

**1305** BnF lat. 6838A. Thomas of Cantimpré, *De natura rerum*. *DD* II: p.377/pl.XL. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9080840s.

**1305** BnF lat. 7998. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*. [Scribe: Petro de Alneto dicto Bonnefoi]. *DD* II: p.445/pl.XXXIX. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078028s.

**1305** Paris, Arsenal 979 (fols 25–111). Bernardus de Gordonio, *Lilium medicinae*. Montpellier. *DD* I: p.123/pl.XXVIII.

**1306** BnF lat. 14392 (fols 1–83 and 156–455). Avicenna, *Liber canonis*. *DD* III: p.365/pl.LXXXII.

**1307** Paris, Arsenal 1248. Thomas of Cantimpré, *De natura rerum*. *DD* I: p.141/XXIX.

**1308** BnF lat. 15255 (fols 36–90). Stephanus Bisuntinus, *Alphabetum narrationum*. [Owner: Gérard d'Utrecht (d. 1326–1338), Master in Theology at the Sorbonne]. *DD* III: p.411/pl.LXXXV.

**1308** Cologny-Genève, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Bodmer 79. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose*. Arras. *AS* p. 86/[III-10–11]. http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/fmb/cb-0079.

**1309** BnF lat. 1266. Breviary. Meaux, Seine-et-Marne. *DD* II: p.63/pl.XLI.

**1310** BnF fr. 1109. Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*. Paris. *AS* p.86/[I-42]. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454666h.

**1310** BnF fr. 12400. *Traité de fauconnerie*. Reims. *AS* p.87/III-94. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90073060.

**1310** BnF lat. 10769 (fols 122–77). Gossuin de Metz, *L'image du monde*. *DD* III: p.203/pl.LXXXVI.

**1311** Paris, Arsenal 6329. *Somme le Roi*. [Copied for: Jeanne de Guines, Countess of Eu, Normandy; see *DD* I]. Paris. *RR* I:146; also *DD* I: p.193/pl.XXXV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55006387b.

**1312** BL Royal 1 A XX. Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*. Arras. *AS* p.87/[III-4–5]. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=29480.

**1312** Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château 734 (465). *Vies de saints*. *DD* I: p.55/pl.XXX.

**1312–15** BnF fr. 574. Gossuin de Metz, *L'image du monde*. Paris. *RR* II:198. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84526412.

**1313** BnF lat. 8504. Raymond de Béziers, *Liber de Dimna et Kalila*. Paris. *AS* p.87/I-60.

**1313** BnF lat. 10940 (fols 81–9). Aymon des Bordes, *De Guidone abbate*. Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. *DD* III: p.213/no plate. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077944p.

**1314** BnF lat. 3893. Gratian, *Decretum*, with gloss by Bartholomaei Brixiensis. [Scribe: Thomas de Wymonduswold, Anglicus]. *DD* II: p.199/pl.XLII.

**1314** Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château 217 (521) (fols 209–311). Guido de Baisio, *Apparatus in sextum librum Decretalium*. Angers. *DD* I: p.19/XXXI].

**1315** BnF lat. 4048 (fols 1–56). Bonifatius VIII, papa, *Liber sextus Decretalium*. *DD* II: p.205/pl.XLII.

**1316** BnF lat. 5389. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. Paris. *DD* II: p.269/pl.XLIII.

**1316** BnF lat. 12590. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. Paris. *DD* III: p.295/pl.LXXXIX. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076792r.

**1316** BnF lat. 12615. Latin hagiographical collection. Saint-Pierre, Corbie. *DD* III: p.299/pl.LXXXIX.

**1316** BnF lat. 14570 (fols 1–76). *Lectura in primum librum Setentiarum*. *DD* III: p.371/pl.LXXXVIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067100g.

**1317** BnF fr. 2090–2. Yvo de Sancto Dionysio, *Vie de saint Denis*, trans. Boitbien. Paris. *AS* p.88/[I-54]. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447296x.

**1317** BnF lat. 7677. Papias, *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*. [Scribe: Martinus de Harenis]. *DD* II: p.423/pl.XLIII.

**1317** BnF lat. 13836. Yvo de Sancto Dyonisio, *Gesta regum Francorum*, cap. LVII–CLXVIII (Latin, with gloss in French). Saint-Denis, Paris. *DD* III: p.339/pl.XC. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078201t.

**1317** Paris, Arsenal 5059. Guiart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*. Paris. *RR* II:169. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550095679.

**1318** BnF fr. 10132. *Grandes chroniques de France*. Paris. *RR* I:179. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90632136.

**1318** BnF lat. 13967. Lambertus Autissiodorensis, *Summulae logicales*. [France]. *DD* III: p. 351/pl.XCI.

**1318** BnF lat. 15924. Johannes Friburgensis, *Summa confessorum*. Paris. *DD* III: p.463/pl.XCI.

**1319** BnF lat. 365. Dominicus Grima, *Lectura in Bibliam*, part 1. [Toulouse?]. *DD* II: p.11/pl.XLIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077806n.

**1319** BnF lat. 375. Dominicus Grima, *Lectura in Bibliam*, part 2. [Toulouse?]. *DD* II: p.11/pl.XLIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9081030z.

**1319** BnF lat. 15966. Sermons of Gui d'Evreux. [Owner: Gérard d'Utrecht (d. 1326–38), Master in Theology at the Sorbonne]. *DD* III: p.473/pl.XCII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9067185k.

**1320** BnF lat. 11133 (fols 52–71). Radulphus Brito, *Quaestiones super libros Topicorum Aristotelis*. *DD* III: p.225/pl.XCV.

**1320** BnF lat. 15879 (fols 125–76). Miscellany of philosophical texts. [Owner: Gérard d'Utrecht (d. 1326–38), Master in Theology at the Sorbonne]. *DD* III: p.461/pl.XCIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078118r.

**1320** BnF lat. 16052 (fols 1–160). *Historia Barlaam et Josaphat abbreviata*. Paris. *DD* III: p.487/pl.XCIII.

**1321** BnF lat. 6320. Aristotle, *Opera*. [Scribe: Mattheus magistri Nicolay de Sul(mona)]. *DD* II: p.331/pl.XLIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90725314.

**1321** BnF lat. 8050. Persius, *Satirae*. [Florence?] *DD* III: p.7/pl.XCVI. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90679719.

**1321** Paris, Arsenal 696. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*. [C.14 mark of ownership to Iohannis de Tosteuilla, a French Carmelite]. *DD* I: p.107/pl.XXXIII.

**1321** Paris, Mazarine 3577. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*. *DD* I: p.313/pl.XXXIV. http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/.

**1323** Paris, Arsenal 1031. Medical miscellany. *DD* I: p.123/pl.XXXIV. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55008177v.

**1324** BnF lat. 7631. Johannes Ianuensis, *Catholicon*. Paris. *DD* II: p.421/pl.XLV.

**1325** BnF lat. 15450. Thomas le Myesier, *Electorium magnum*. *DD* III: p.427/pl.XCVII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90684818.

**1325** BnF lat. 16618 (fols 1–39 and 165). Miscellany of logical texts. *DD* III: p.553/pl.XCVIII. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90671541.

**1326** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 1829. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. Lisieux, Calvados. *DD* I: p.345/pl.XXXVII. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=13411.

**1326–8** Paris, Arsenal 5204. *Vie de Jésus Christ*, etc. Paris. *RR* I:184. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55008557j.

**1327** BnF fr. 183. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* (French, trans. Jean Belet). Paris. *RR* II:198. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90590274.

**1327** BnF lat. 11935. Bible. [Scribe: Robertus de Bylling; artists incl. Jehan Pucelle]. *DD* III: p.261/pl.C. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105097447/f1.item.

**1327** BnF lat. 14725. Aristotle, *De animalibus*, etc. *DD* III: p.379/pl.C.

**1328** BnF lat. 15372. Johannes de Polliaco, *Quodlibeta*. [C.14 ex libris from Bibl. de la Sorbonne]. *DD* III: p.421/pl.CI. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90672566.

**1328** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 546. Latin hagiographical collection. Saint-Maur des Fossés, Seine. *DD* I: p.333/pl.XXXVIII. http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=13286.

**1329** Paris, Arsenal 872. Arnaldus de Villanova, *Regimen sanitatis*. *DD* I: p.115/pl.XXXIV.

**1329** Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 565. Usuardus, *Martyrologium*. Notre-Dame de Gâtines, Indre-et-Loire. *DD* I: p.333/pl.XL.

**1330** BnF lat. 605. Jacobus de Lausanna, *Postilla moralis in Genesim et Exodum*. [Laud(uno?)]. *DD* II: p.21/pl.XLVII.

**1330** Paris, Mazarine 169. Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postillae in Vetus Testamentum*. [Paris]. *DD* I: p.221/pl.XXXIX. http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/.

CHAPTER 3

# The Style and Iconography of Montpellier folio 350r

ALISON STONES

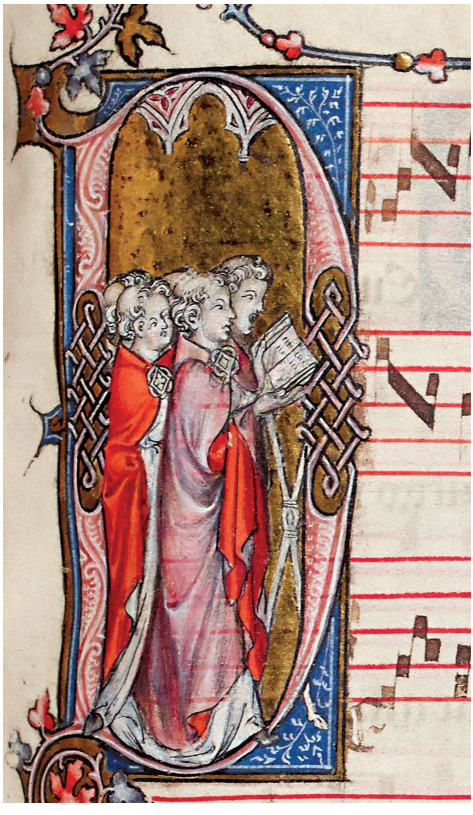
Fascicle 8 of **Mo** opens with a tall narrow historiated initial D for the versicle *Deus in adiutorium intende*, depicting a group of five clerics crowding into the confined space and singing from a book held open on a folding lectern (Figure 3.1a). The clerics are tonsured and wear red or pink copes over white albs, pinned with huge morses. A sense of liveliness is created by the two feet that cross the initial bar on the left and right, and the clawed leg of the lectern that passes behind the initial bar to rest on the blue outer background, as well as the broad sweep of the clerics' robes – with some ambiguity about the figures, as to which face on the right of the group goes with which chasuble: who is in red and who is in pink, and whose are the hands that hold open the book? The pink letter D, its bars decorated with acanthus and interlace motifs outlined in white, ends in spiral-shaped clusters of vine-leaf motifs painted red and blue on a cusped gold ground, and is set within a rectangle of blue with white fern-like rinceaux bordered by a gold fillet. The inner background of the initial is plain burnished gold and the clerics are massed beneath a triple cusped arch outlined in white and pink with pierced tracery. The border continues as a rectilinear frame around noted staff lines and text, with ivy and vines on cusped gold grounds on corners and middle. A goldfinch and coal tit (?), affronted, perch on sprays on the middle right border, and a delicately modelled greyhound chases a finely painted hare on the bottom border (Figure 3.2).[1]

The opening words are a trope on Psalm 69, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* ('O God, come to my assistance'), co-opted from the liturgy, where they begin most of the hours in monastic breviaries and books of hours for layfolk.[2] The choice of singing clerics for this supplication, however, would not be found in the context of these liturgical and devotional books, where the subjects chosen to accompany these words are events from the Life of Christ. In illustrated psalters, breviaries, and bibles contemporary with **Mo**, on the other hand, a group of singing clerics is the usual subject chosen for Psalm 97, beginning *Cantate domino canticum novum* ('Sing to the Lord a new song'); the illustration is obviously dependent on these opening words of the psalm.[3] An example attributable to one of the **Mo** artists

[1] An entry for **Mo** is found in Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-24.

[2] Psalms are numbered according to the Vulgate, here and below. See Chapter 6 in this volume by Eva M. Maschke.

[3] Not all breviaries adopt this subject: notable exceptions are the breviary of Philippe le Bel (Paris, BnF lat. 1023, fol. 42), attributed to Master Honoré in 1296, and the related fragmentary breviary (by another artist), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. M.1042, fol. 65v, where King David is depicted contemplating the Nativity of Christ and the Annunciation to the Shepherds (reproduced, respectively,



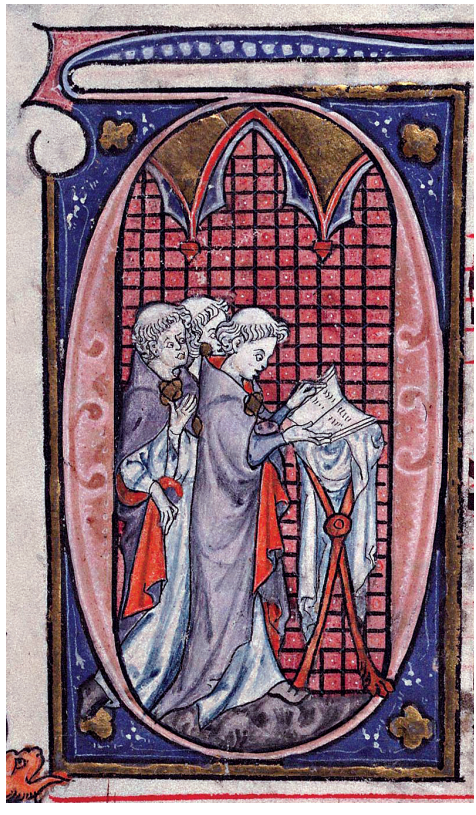


Fig. 3.1a (*left*) **Mo**, fol. 350r, D, clerics chanting.

Fig. 3.1b (*right*) **Mo**, fol. 1r, D, clerics chanting.

is found in the Santa Barbara Bible, made in Paris towards the end of the thirteenth century (Figure 3.3).[4] Another, less common, context where singing clerics are depicted is the beginning of the fifteen Gradual Psalms (Psalm 119), as in a

on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455904r, and Corsair, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/ICAIntro/ICAintroshortdesc.htm (accessed 13 September 2017); Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-43 and I-44). Another breviary very close stylistically to lat. 1023 and now in private hands has the more usual subject of the clerics chanting at Psalm 97 (formerly with Dr Jörn Günther in Basel (see Wüstefeld et al. 2015, no. 8)), and later royal breviaries (c.1310–20), such as Città del Vaticano, BAV Urb. lat. 603, of Franciscan Use for Blanche de France, daughter of King Philippe V, also revert to the singing clerics at a solid gold lectern for Psalm 97. Several artists from the entourage of Jean Pucelle participated in its illustration. See Plotzek et al. 1992, 238–9, no. 49, listing earlier scholarship; and Krieger 1995, 10, 86, and 135–7.

[4] In **Mo**, this artist worked in fascicles 3, 5, and 6. I call him the Saint-Denis Master on account of his work in the Missal of Saint-Denis, Paris, BnF lat. 1107, datable in my view to the late 1270s and 1280s. Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-14. See also below. For the iconography of University of California Santa Barbara BS 75 1250, see ibid., Part II, vol. 2:36–51, Table of Bibles.

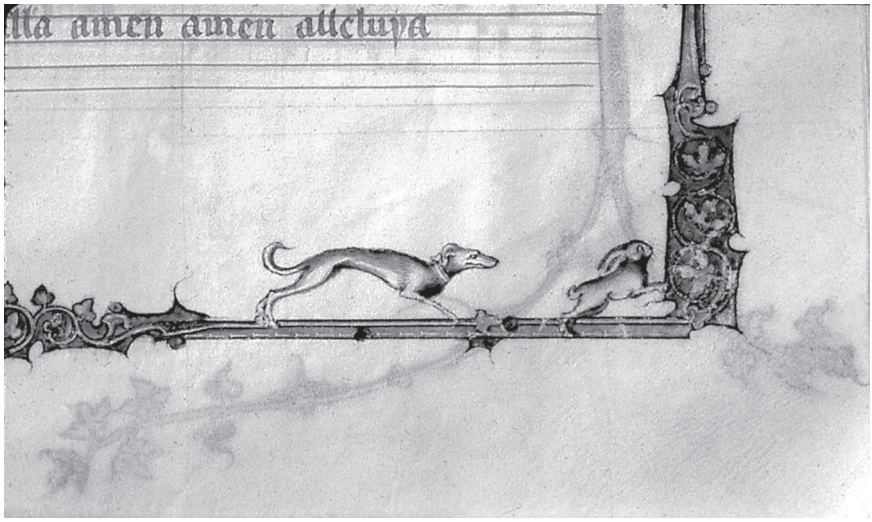



Fig. 3.2 **Mo**, fol. 350r, border: greyhound chasing hare.

psalter-hours now in a private collection, made for an unidentified woman in the second half of the thirteenth century (Figure 3.4).

Undoubtedly the governing factor for this choice of image in **Mo** was for the last fascicle to begin symmetrically with an image matching that of the opening of the codex as a whole (Figure 3.1b). The codex similarly begins with the opening words *Deus in adiutorium* and clerics singing are also the subject of its initial: three clerics rather than five, but the projecting cleric's foot on the left, and the clawed foot of the folding lectern (on which see below) projecting across the frame are motifs imitated in fol. 350r. There are differences too: fol. 1 has a patterned background in red, the clerics wear grey chasubles with orange linings, their hand gestures are more clearly recognizable, and there is drapery on the lectern. A single bird (a redstart?) perches on the curvilinear border and sings with open beak, its song depicted as a flower. The foliage on the border is less developed than on fol. 350r and a winged dragon terminal bites the bottom left corner of the initial's frame. This depiction of clerics continues and expands a model found in the mid-thirteenth-century Notre-Dame repertory manuscript $\mathbf{W}_2$ (fol. 31r) (Figure 3.5), where the initial S of *Salvatoris* shows three clerics, tonsured, in pink and blue chasubles, singing from a book held above a lectern. The images in **Mo** no doubt reference this example as well as the liturgical contexts of text and image, so as to frame a book full of other musical, textual, and pictorial borrowings and recombinings.

Particularly striking in the context of pictorial repetition in **Mo** is an unusual motif common to folios 1r and 350r: the folding lectern at which the clerics chant, draped on fol. 1r, re-used on fol. 350r without the covering cloth. Models for this item of furniture are few, and they tend to be Parisian.[5] The folding lectern is

[5] A search in the holdings of the *Index of Medieval* [formerly *Christian*] *Art* at Princeton University revealed very few examples, one of which is an Italian Psalter: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 151, fol. 173r, attributed to Naples in the

Fig. 3.3 Santa Barbara, UCSB 75 1250, Bible, fol. 161r, Psalm 97, C, clerics chanting.

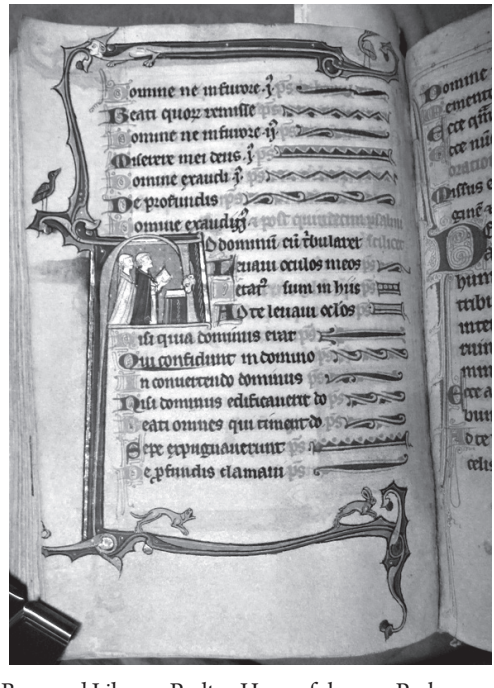


Fig. 3.4 Emmanuel Boussard Library, Psalter-Hours, fol. 242v, Psalm 119, A, clerics chanting.

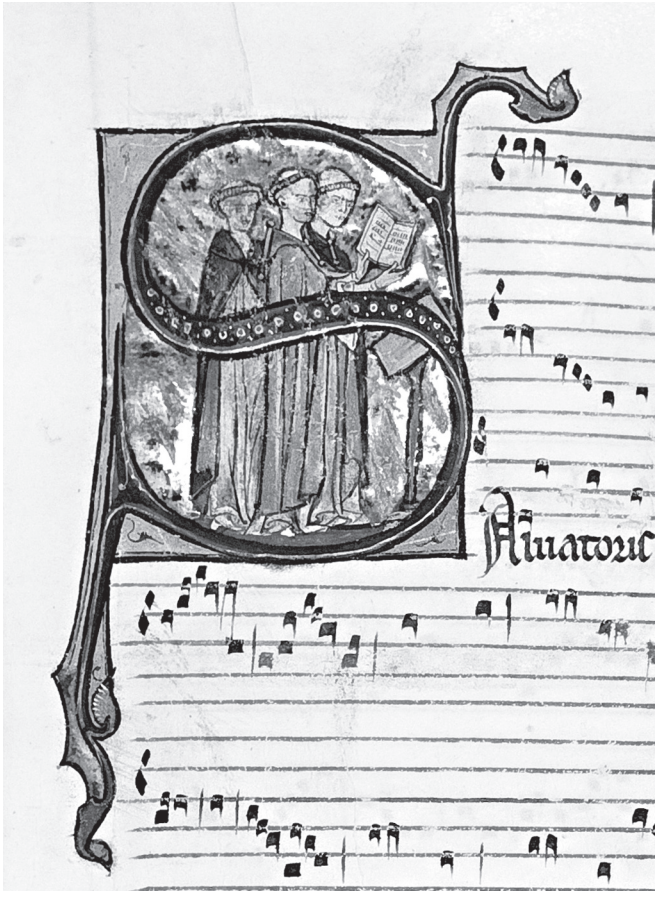


Fig. 3.5 **W**$_2$, fol. 31r, S, clerics chanting

composed of a flat desk resting on four straight legs, one on each corner, the two at the top longer than the other two so that the desk, attached to the longer pair of legs at the top, inclines towards the singers and rests on the lower legs when in use. The legs (one long, one short) on the left and right are hinged to each other in the middle so as to enable the lectern to fold up when not in use. It would have been easy to pick up and move, and so would have been especially useful in processions stopping to sing at particular stations, where the lectern could have quickly been erected to hold the book, but I have yet to find an illustration of one carried in a procession. The medieval folding lectern appears to have come into use in the mid thirteenth century. The earliest-known illustrated example is the Psalter of St Louis, Paris, BnF lat. 10525, fol. 192r (Psalm 97). If this manuscript was really made for King Louis IX, as I believe it was, then it most likely dates to before his death in 1270.[6] The folding-lectern motif also appears in a later Parisian

third quarter of the fourteenth century: see Pächt and Alexander 1970, no. 169. I thank Adelaide Bennett and Judith Golden for their assistance at the Index.

[6] Fully reproduced on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447877n/f397.

book, the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre († 1349), daughter of Louis X le Hutin and Marguerite de Bourgogne, Paris, BnF n.a.l. 3145, fol. 91v (Figure 3.6).[7] There it is placed near the altar, suggesting that it had just been put there. Another thirteenth-century Parisian example, kindly drawn to my attention by Rebecca Baltzer, is in the Bible, Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 15, for Psalm 97 on fol. 244v.[8] But the folding lectern at Psalm 97 is by no means standard in Parisian books: it is lacking, for instance, in the Psalter of Isabelle, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 300, the sister manuscript to Louis's psalter. Nor was it used for the chanting clerics mentioned above in the private collection psalter-hours, in $\mathbf{W}_2$, or in the Santa Barbara Bible.

Similar biblical appropriations among the illustrations in **Mo** are the Trinity images shown as Two Persons and Dove and Throne of Mercy on folios 87v and 88r, borrowed from standard illustrations to Psalm 109 and the Feast of the Trinity, or the image of the Virgin and Child (for St Katherine) on fol. 5v (Figure 3.7), transferring a model commonly found for the illustration to the Song of Songs. The precise details that characterize the depiction on fol. 5v – the Virgin crowned, holding out a flower in her right hand, the Child standing on her knee, blessing and holding a round red object (a ball or apple) – are not so easily paralleled, however, as a comparison with Song of Songs illustrations in two Parisian bibles makes clear. In the Le Mans Bible, made c.1280, Ms. 262, vol. 2, fol. 239v (Figure 3.8a), the Child stands on the Virgin's knee and embraces her, but the ball and flower of **Mo**'s version are lacking; and in the Bible of Philippe le Bel, Paris, BnF lat. 248, fol. 495v (before 1314), the flower is included and the Child reaches for it, but there is again no ball (Figure 3.8b). If in this instance BnF lat. 248 is closer to **Mo**, other links between the two books are lacking: so, for example, the lectern from which the clerics sing in Psalm 97 is solid, not folding, in BnF lat. 248.

**Mo** contains many further initials that draw on subjects common in other literary and biblical contexts in addition to those mentioned above, such as the poet as thinker (fol. 270r), and the pairs of lovers (fols 23v–24r, 63v, 112r, 246r, 270r). The opening and closing illustrations on folios 1r and 350r are part and parcel of the illustrative strategy of **Mo**, working in tandem with its textual and musical structures, and fascicle 8's illustration follows these previously established practices closely.

It has been well established that fascicles 1–7 of **Mo** are of Parisian manufacture, if the result of a strata of layers illustrated by three different artists, all readily

item.r=Psautier+dit+de+saint+Louis.langFR.zoom (accessed 13 September 2017). Patricia Stirnemann has recently suggested that the book was made for the marriage of King Philippe le Hardi and Marie de Brabant in 1274; see Stirnemann and Thomas 2011. In my view, the absence of an obit for Louix IX precludes this.

[7] See Avril 1981, 312, no. 265. See also Keane 2013, 131–48. Jeanne was married in 1318 to her cousin Philippe d'Evreux, brother of Jeanne d'Evreux, who married King Charles IV in 1325 as his third wife. Jeanne de Navarre was crowned Queen of Navarre in 1329.

[8] Reproduced at http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr (accessed 8 April 2016). There are three clerics.

Fig. 3.6 Paris, BnF n.a.l. 3145, Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, fol. 91v, St Louis at mass with clerics chanting.

Fig. 3.7 **Mo**, fol. 5v, V, Virgin and Child.

identifiable in Parisian books of the last decades of the thirteenth century.[9] I have attributed the illustrations in fascicles 2 and 4 to the Cholet Master, artist of the Missal and Epistolary made for Cardinal Jean Cholet, Padua, Bibl. Capitolare D 34 and C 47 (between 1281, when Cholet was named cardinal, and his death in 1292).[10] This painter seems to have begun his career as secondary artist in the *Grandes chroniques de France* offered to King Philippe le Hardi after 1274 (c.1280?), Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 782,[11] and he worked alone in the Hours of Joan de Valence, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 21000 (c.1280–90), probably at the end of his career.[12] I attribute fascicles 3, 5, and 6 (but not the foliate initials in the supplements) to the Saint-Denis Master, artist of the Missal of Saint-Denis,

[9] For the latest division of hands and comparative material, see Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-24. I thank Eric Nemarich for stimulating discussion of the stylistic question and for introducing me to Nicolas de Gorran's *Postilla* on the Psalter, BnF lat. 15212, bequeathed to the Sorbonne by Pierre de Limoges in 1306. In the end, I think that its illustrations have more to do with those in **Mo** fascicles 1 and 7 and the work of 'Honoré' and his entourage than with fascicle 8.

[10] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-26.

[11] Ibid., Cat. I-21.

[12] Ibid., Cat. I-27. In colour on the Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland website.

Fig. 3.8a Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis-Aragon, 262, Bible, vol. 2, fol. 239v, Canticum canticorum, Virgin and Child.

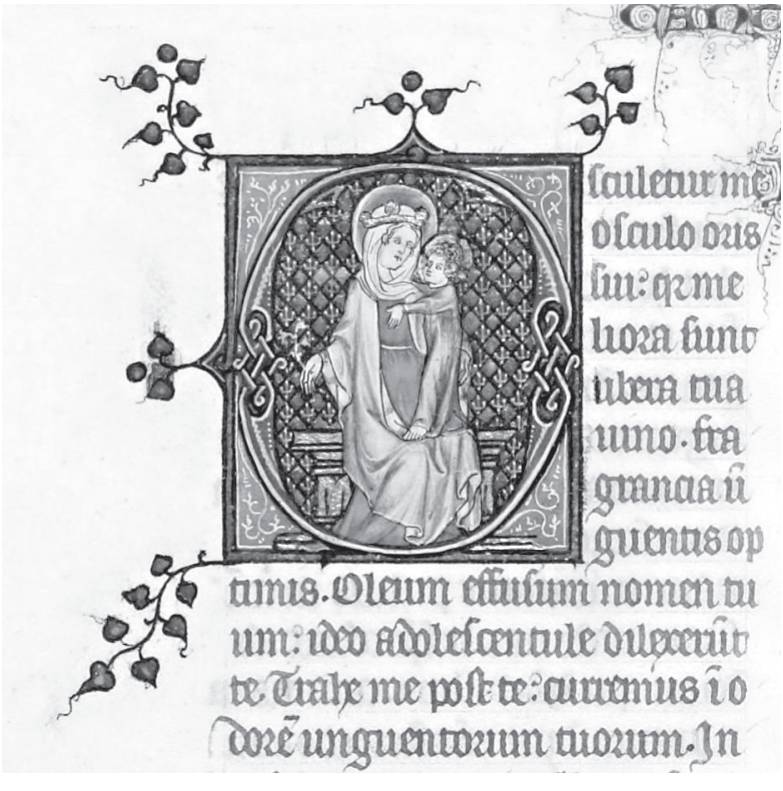


Fig. 3.8b Paris, BnF lat. 248, Bible of Philippe le Bel, fol. 495v, Canticum canticorum, Virgin and Child.

Paris, BnF lat. 1107, as noted above.[13] Fascicles 1 and 7 and the foliate initials in the supplements to fascicles 3, 5, and 7, I attribute to the orbit of 'Honoré', paid in 1296 for the king's illuminated books and associated with a second payment of 1296 for illuminating a breviary for the King, traditionally identified with Paris, BnF lat. 1023.[14]

That fascicle 8 belongs to a later phase of production is undisputed. Identifying the artist of fol. 350r, however, is not so simple a matter. I have not found work by this artist elsewhere. If the folding lectern motif and the delicate modelling of the figures and animals suggest Parisian work, the figures cannot readily be ascribed to a particular Parisian artist. He is not one of the participants, for instance, in the *Vie de saint Denis* of 1317, Paris, BnF fr. 2090–2,[15] nor in the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* (**Fauv**) of about the same year.[16] The delicate modelling of the figures and especially the animals in **Mo** fol. 350r suggests the work of a painter from the entourage of Jean Pucelle (fl.1323–34) or perhaps one of his precursors, such as the artist of Henri de Mondeville's Surgery compendium in French, offered to King Philippe le Bel before 1314, Paris, BnF fr. 2030 (Figure 3.9).[17] The Surgery book is illustrated with meticulously drawn grisaille figures illustrating the organs of the body, both male and female, reminiscent of the treatment of the greyhound and hare on fol. 350r in **Mo** and of the use of grisaille in Pucelle's work. I have proposed that the Mondeville manuscript might even be an early work by Pucelle himself, pre-dating his dated works, which fall in the period 1323–34. Yet the treatment of the faces of the singing clerics in **Mo** 8 is hard to match among the books illustrated by Pucelle and his followers. They seem to me to show closer affinities to northern manuscripts, particularly the Ceremonial of the abbey of St Peter Blandin in Ghent, dated 1322, Ghent Univ. Bibl. 233, a manuscript for which

[13] Ibid., Cat. I-24. See above, n. 4. As an aside, I draw attention to the notes written on the figures of the fighting youths in the margin on fol. 63r (the first page of fascicle 3), which Marie-Françoise Damongeot kindly suggested (personal communication, 2 August 2014) are a dialogue of invectives, in which the right-hand figure responds twice, saying 'tu me[n]z) !' and (very hard to read) 'tu c…… ras' (possibly 'cuiras') and the left-hand figure possibly 'tu et [signe : et] vila[i]n'. This emends the reading I gave in Stones 2013–14, , Part I, vol. 2: Cat. I-14.

[14] Ibid., Cat. I-43. See also above, n. 9. I think that the initials in the supplements to fascicle 7 are by the same painter as those in the rest of fascicle 7 and in the supplements to fascicle 3 and 5 and not, as has previously been said, by the painter of fascicle 8.

[15] Ibid., Part II, vol. 1:247–55, Table of the *Vie de saint Denis*, with reference to earlier literature. Reproduced in colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447296x.r=2090 (accessed 13 September 2017).

[16] See especially Bent and Wathey 1998; Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-61. Reproduced in colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g (accessed 13 September 2017).

[17] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-55; in black and white on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90591388 (accessed 13 September 2017).

Fig. 3.9 Paris, BnF fr. 2030, Henri de Mondeville, Chirurgie, fol. 29, male and female internal organs.

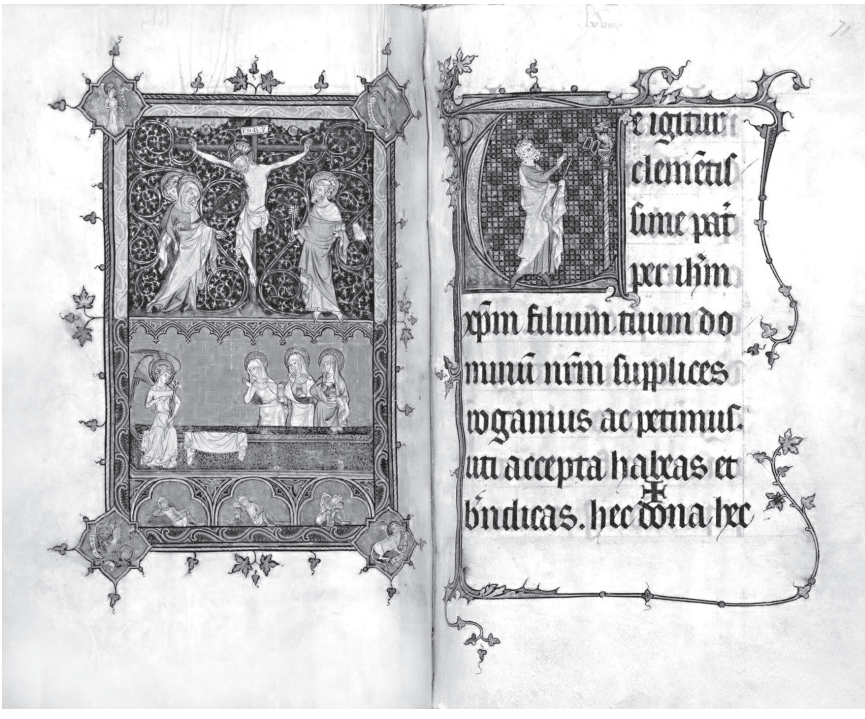


Fig. 3.10 Ghent, Univ. Bibl. 233, Ceremonial of St Peter Blandin, fols 67v–68r, Crucifixion and Three Maries at the Sepulchre; T, Moses and the Brazen Serpent.

François Avril has posited a possible origin in Flanders, in Ghent or Tournai (Figure 3.10).[18]

A certain stylistic ambiguity, therefore, surrounds the illustration to this additional fascicle. Both closely tied to the rest of the volume and stylistically distinct, it raises questions not easily resolved. Is it the work of a northern artist operating in Paris or did the book itself migrate to the north? And when was fascicle 8 made? The stylistic comparisons do not provide us with other work indubitably by the same artist but they suggest, nonetheless, that a date in the decade of c.1315–25 would be most likely for the execution of **Mo** 8.

[18] Morand 1962, 44, comparing it with the Genealogy and Life of the Virgin and Bestiary in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 20, of 1323. To this artist Avril attributes the breviary of Blanche de France, Città del Vaticano BAV Urb. lat. 603 (with other participants); a missal of Paris use, BnF n.a.l. 2649; an Averroes in Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana San Marco 175, dated 1315; a Guy de Baysio, Rouen BM 751; the *Roman de la Rose* of Gui de Mori, Tournai Bibl. de la Ville 101, dated 1330; and a breviary of Sainte-Aldegonde de Maubeuge, Cambrai BM 133 (with another artist): see Avril 1981, 300–1, no. 248. On Pucelle and his followers, see most recently Avril 2011; also Pyun and Russakoff 2013.

CHAPTER 4

# The Decoration of Montpellier 8: Its Place in the Continuum of Parisian Manuscript Illumination

REBECCA A. BALTZER

YVONNE Rokseth would be surprised and pleased to know that a two-day conference devoted entirely to the last fascicle of the manuscript she so carefully edited in the 1930s, some eighty years ago, took place in March 2014. Her work is still the starting place for any research on **Mo**.[1] The opening folio of **Mo** 8, fol. 350r (see the front cover of this volume), is now a familiar image. Although fascicle 8 has only this single historiated initial of singing clerics on its first folio, each motet in the nearly fifty following folios begins with illuminated initials that decorate the margins of the page with leaves, vines, and occasional dragons.

Since the work of Robert Branner in the 1970s, it has been generally accepted that fascicles 1–7 of **Mo** were illuminated by artists active in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century.[2] But because Branner considered fascicle 8 to be later (c.1300) than the scope of his book, he had little to say about it. We can presume that, when the manuscript was first produced, its folios were somewhat larger, particularly at the top margin. The folios are now c.192 × 136mm; the textblock (written space) is c.128 × 77mm.[3] Fascicle 8 was carefully trimmed for binding so as not to cut off any of the decoration that occupies the margins outside the textblock. Rokseth believed that fascicle 8 was *not* originally bound with fascicles 1–7, beginning with an independent life and its own foliation.[4] At some point fascicles 1–7 were all trimmed to match the size of the folios in fascicle 8, sometimes clipping some of their decoration at the edges.[5] But we do not know whether fascicle 8 was

[1] Rokseth 1935–9. For an overview of her life and career, see Parsoneault 2005.

[2] Branner 1977. See ibid., 237–9, on **Mo**, in Appendix V, Branner's working lists of manuscripts.

[3] People who have personally measured the manuscript tend to differ slightly in reporting its dimensions. I have followed the concise description of **Mo** in Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Sources, MS, §V, 2' (Montpellier codex, with bibliography to c.2000), *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 24 February 2016).

[4] See Rokseth 1935–9, 4:25–6. In the first seven fascicles, the original Roman numeral foliation stops at fol. 333r; fascicle 8, at fol. 350r, was first numbered in Arabic numerals from 1 to 48 before two more modern Arabic numerations were added, after the fascicles were all joined. This first Arabic numbering (added later than the date of the fascicle, but implying that fascicle 8 was still separate) does not show up clearly until fol. 358, where a 9 is nearly trimmed off at the top margin. For a better example, see fol. 379, which is fol. 30 in the original, or fol. 393, which is fol. 44 in the original.

[5] See, for example, fols 171r, 218v, 224r, 231r, 269r–v.

joined to the seven earlier fascicles prior to the manuscript's current binding from the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[6]

The tonsured clerics singing before a book on a lectern as depicted in the **Mo** 8 initial (see Figure 3.1a) come from a long line of illustrations for Psalm 97, *Cantate domino canticum novum* ('Sing to the Lord a new song').[7] But they reflect actual practice, for on major feasts the solo singers in the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris would come down out of their stalls to sing from the eagle lectern that stood in the centre aisle between the two sides of the choir.[8] And on most of those occasions they put on red silk copes when they did so, as worn by the five clerics depicted in the **Mo** 8 initial.[9]

Apart from dragons depicted on the following folios, only the first folio of **Mo** 8 includes any animals, although, in the rest of the codex, birds, dogs, rabbits, deer, lions, and even a snail are found in plentiful supply in the margins or initials. On fol. 350r, a hapless rabbit is chased by a determined dog; and two birds, the right one with a red face, are perched on leafy extenders in the right margin. There are no more of these, but some two dozen dragons in different poses appear in the rest of the fascicle.

In terms of style, I ask my students if they can tell the difference between a Ford Mustang made in the 1960s and one made in the 1990s, or between one from the 1990s and another made in the last five years, and of course they can. Distinguishing among manuscripts c.1260–c.1320 is no different, if we know what details to notice.

The first task is to distinguish the artwork of fascicle 8 from that in fascicles 1 and 7, which are considered by most scholars (including Rokseth) to date from the 1290s. Compared to fascicle 8 (see Figure 3.1a), fascicle 1 has a restricted colour palette. It too begins with singing clerics (see Figure 3.1b), but they are clearly not by the artist who painted fol. 350r.[10] Fascicle 1's first folio (fol. 1r) has none of the sharply pointed, fully developed leaves found in the margins of fol. 350r, but the dragon is more elaborate, and the bird in the right margin appears repeatedly in fascicles 1 and 7. Fol. 5v contains the only other historiated initial in fascicle 1 (see Figure 3.7), and it shows the Virgin and Child in the letter 'V'. However, someone made a major error in the choice of subject: the music (despite the opening word 'Virgo') is *not* for the Virgin Mary but for St Katherine. The artist did not know this, and no musician or cleric corrected him. That said, he skilfully painted the fully developed three-lobed leaf, and his dragon looks like someone's happy dog.

[6] See Rokseth 1935–9, 4:25–30. In more recent years there have been two PhD dissertations in English on the manuscript: Wolinski 1988 and Parsoneault 2001. See also Wolinski 1992, esp. 282–91 on fascicle 8, where she argues against Rokseth's scenario of production.

[7] Numerous such initials from thirteenth-century Paris are among the illustrations in Branner 1977.

[8] Wright 1989, 101.

[9] As numerous rubrics in Parisian liturgical manuscripts confirm.

[10] These two initials (on fols 1r and 350r) can be compared in black and white on the same page of Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 1, illustrations 99 and 102; fol. 270r (fasc. 7) is illustration 105. Her catalogue description is Cat. I-24 in Part I, vol. 2:48–53.

Fig. 4.1 **Mo**, fol. 270r, top.

Fol. 270r, the opening leaf of fascicle 7, has a normally varied colour palette. The extenders sprout leaves all over the margins, and they are inhabited by three birds, two hunters, a stag, and a dog. At the top of the page (see Figure 4.1), the historiated initials show two lovers on the left and a poet – or poet/composer – on the right. Both seated men have one leg sharply crossed, a pose considered to be a symbol of authority. It is possible that this was the same artist who did the initials in fascicle 1; in particular, there is a similarity between the pose of the Virgin on fol. 5v (see Figure 3.7) and that of the lady on fol. 270r, and the hair of the child Jesus and that of the poet are fairly close.

The interior folios of fascicles 7 and 8, though at first glance rather similar, can be distinguished on closer inspection. Fascicle 8 contains no animals or birds, its dragons are rather restrained, and its graceful marginal extenders do not sprout into great clumps of leaves. In contrast, fascicle 7 is full of extravagant dragons, some of which turn into human hybrids; the same bird appears many times; and the illuminated pages seem generally busier. In fascicle 7 all the folios were pricked to form two equal columns inside the textblock (clearly so at the top of fol. 294r). But when a so-called Petronian motet with a much busier triplum part came along, the manuscript makers ignored the pricking for two equal columns and shifted the break between the two columns significantly to the right, making the left column much larger (see, for example, fol. 286r). In contrast, a Petronian motet in fascicle 8 maintains the two equal columns at the top of a folio but shifts to long lines

extending across the textblock for the triplum further down the page, as on folios 357r and 382r.[11]

Let us skip momentarily back to about the year 1270, when the Paris noted missal BnF lat. 830 was made.[12] For the first Sunday in Advent (fol. 7r),[13] the initial typically shows the celebrant kneeling at the altar and dedicating his soul (in the form of a child) to God, whose head appears in the cloud. An extravagant winged dragon has feet that intrude into the interior of the initial 'A'. Another dragon, vines, and leaves populate the smaller initial below, and the leaves are either buds (bud and ball) or three very rounded lobes with white tips. The extenders ending in a bud and ball are gracefully done, but short.

Let us jump forward to several manuscripts made in the 1290s, contemporary with fascicles 1 and 7 of Montpellier.[14] The manuscript London, British Library Add. 17341 is known as a Gospel lectionary for the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, dating from the early 1290s.[15] Since every Gospel reading starts with the Latin words *In illo tempore* ('At that time'), each historiated initial is an 'I' containing relevant scenes. As seen on folios 123v–124r, the top corners sprout those not-yet-fully-developed trilobed leaves. At the bottoms, dragons, hybrid creatures, and more leaves produce graceful extenders that may or may not support animals, like the rabbit on the lower right. The human figures have a painterly modelling of the drapery that suggests depth and fullness of form.

We can see more of the same in an exquisite page from the so-called Nuremberg Hours.[16] Folio 22r begins the Matins of the Virgin and depicts her death (or dormition), surrounded by the apostles, with God and her soul up above (Figure 4.2). Here most of the leaves are fully developed. The dragon at the top is remarkable mainly for his blue head with a frontal view. There is a basketweave pattern on both sides of the initial and a white three-sprig design in the blue ground surrounding the initial. The leaves in the extenders grow to full spiky form, and the extenders themselves are not far from boxing the whole page.

Perhaps the most famous Parisian manuscript of the 1290s is the breviary of King Philippe le Bel, Paris, BnF lat. 1023.[17] We assume that this is the manuscript

[11] For further discussion of layout, see Chapter 5 in this volume by Oliver Huck.

[12] Lat. 830 is available in digital colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432466n (accessed 13 September 2017). See Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2: Cat. I-17.

[13] Reproduced in black and white in Baltzer 2000b, 13.

[14] I will not attempt to make any connections between fascicles 2–6 and other contemporary manuscripts, since they are not the primary focus here.

[15] The complete manuscript is available in colour on the British Library's website at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_17341 (accessed 30 August 2017). See also the double-page colour photo in Backhouse (1997) 1998, 98. This manuscript is a direct copy of the earlier BnF lat. 17326; both are known as Gospel lectionaries of the Sainte-Chapelle. Additional black-and-white photos of Add. 17341 are in Simmons 1994.

[16] Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Solg. Ms. 4.4°, colour plate XVIII in Simmons 1994.

[17] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2: Cat. I-43. The entire manuscript can be seen in black-and-white reproduction on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90665543/ (accessed 13 September 2017).

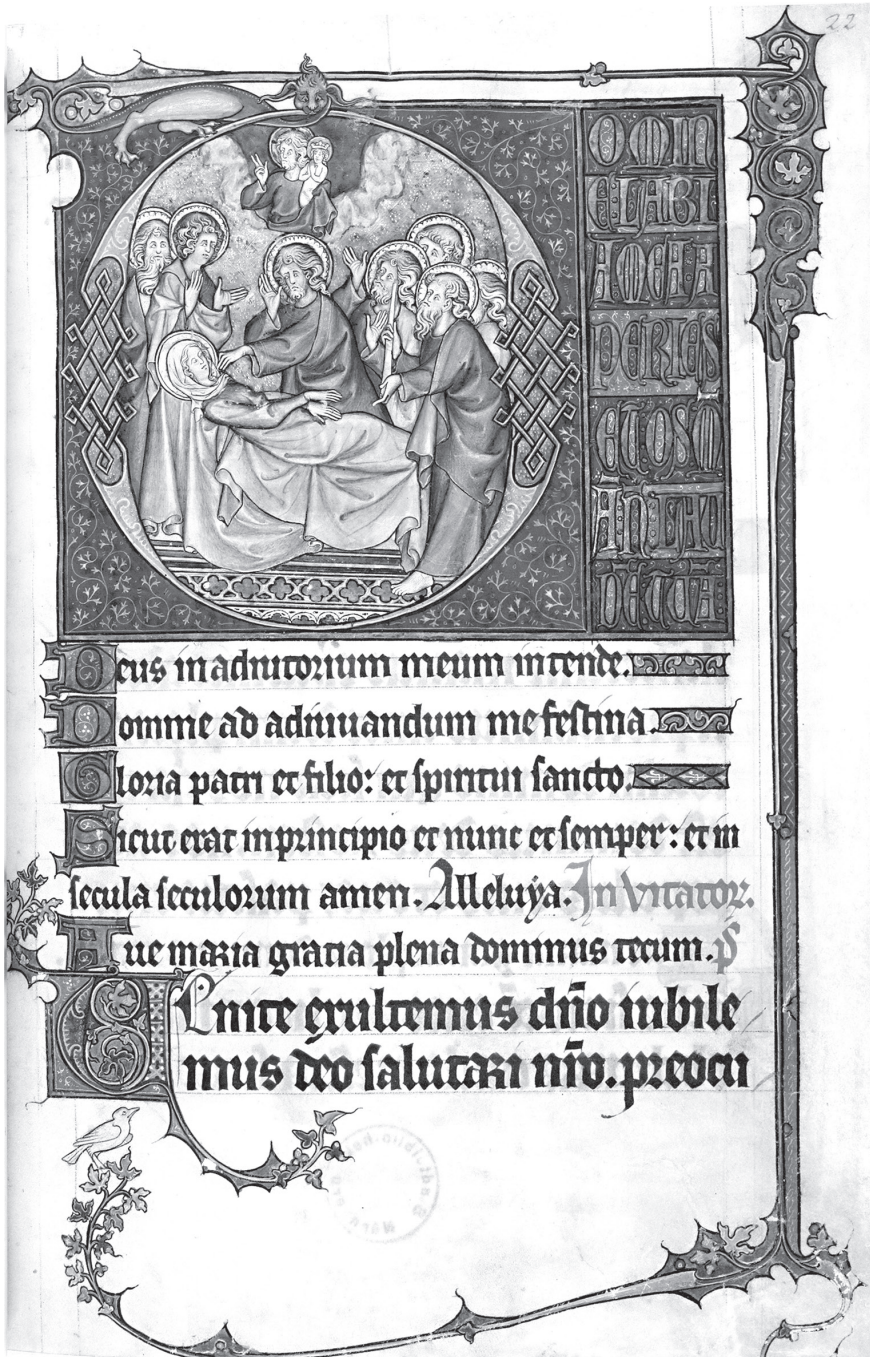



Fig. 4.2 Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Solg. Ms. 4.4°, fol. 22r, Dormition of the Virgin.

listed in Philippe's account books as being paid for in 1296, illuminated by Master Honoré and assistants.[18] The full-page miniature on fol. 7v shows scenes from the life of the Old Testament King David.[19] The large curls of hair and the eyes of the figures, which are not drawn full round but have visible pupils and no eyelid below, approach the heads in **Mo** fascicle 8, with the exception of the breviary's sharply arched eyebrows.

In other folios of the breviary, the small historiated initials have gold grounds (which look brown in certain lights).[20] There are 'normal' dragons, though they are often in contorted positions, gnawing on a corner of the initial frame, but there are also hybrid creatures with human heads. Extenders have extravagant clusters of colourful leaves. The Christmas Nativity initial (fol. 86v) reverts to the spiky extenders that are hallmarks of the old corpus fascicles (2–6) of **Mo**.

A further comparison may be drawn with another manuscript, which is certainly a descendant of Philippe le Bel's breviary – it is a fabulously illuminated Paris breviary that briefly appeared and then disappeared back into private hands after it was sold at auction in 2008.[21] It vastly exceeded the pre-sale estimate of 200,000 Euros, in fact selling for almost 1.5 million. This sumptuous breviary dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its *mise en page* is very similar to that of BnF lat. 1023, but the facial style has little shading or modelling, as individual initials show clearly. The basketweave design found in the **Mo** 8 initial on fol. 350r (see Fig. 3.1a) is present in many of the breviary initials, and dragons are abundant. The last initial shown in the sale catalogue, that depicting St Louis, is a later addition, out of liturgical order, near the end of the book. Here the ink colour and style of the script are different, as is the facial style of the king. St Louis was canonized in 1297 and his feast was first celebrated in August 1298, but, even though this breviary was made a few years later than that, neither it nor its exemplar contained the Office for St Louis.

By contrast, the Paris noted missal British Library Add. 16905 *does* have St Louis as the most recent saint, included in correct liturgical order.[22] The beginning of Advent has its customary historiated initial showing the celebrant presenting his soul to God. The initial's gracefully curved upper extender ends with a spray of leaves, not yet fully grown, that arches down the right margin and almost meets a similar spray reaching up from below. Three little round-topped trees grow from the middle of the

[18] For a discussion of this point (and the older literature), see Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:91, 93.

[19] Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 1, ill. 175.

[20] Colour images of individual illuminations from this manuscript are available in the BnF's *Mandragore* database, http://mandragore.bnf.fr (accessed 30 August 2017).

[21] *Manuscrits et livres précieux*, Vente Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 18 November 2008, lot no. 2 (cat., 8–17, in colour), offered through the dealer Thierry de Maigret. The sale price was reported later by Drouot.

[22] Although this manuscript can be had on microfilm, I know of no digitized images of it currently available on the British Library's website.

bottom border, where there is a lively chase among a dog, a stag, and a rabbit. Other non-historiated but illuminated initials give us a further glimpse of this artist's work.

The Paris gradual BnF lat. 1337[23] – one of only two Paris graduals from this period (the earlier one is Paris, Arsenal 110) – also includes St Louis in correct order as the latest saint. It is written in long lines within a single column, which better suit its musical contents than the two-column format. The extenders have some fully grown leaves, and a little dog sits on the lower extender for Ascension Day (fol. 159r), looking up at the leaves above his head. The initial for the Assumption of the Virgin again has little modelling of the faces, but Jesus, climbing out of the tomb on Easter morning (fol. 138r), has a sweet countenance.

The two-volume book known as the Bible of Philippe le Bel (Paris, BnF lat. 248) was presumably made for the king before his death in 1314.[24] It is the work of several different artists, but most initials include the basketweave design and sprays of leaves growing from the corners of the initial frame. What is most striking about this bible for us is the presence of the same leafy white-penned design on the blue ground in the corners of the initial frame that we see in **Mo** 8; the Exodus initial on fol. 47v (see Figure 4.3) is a particularly good example. Notice also the pink design in the vertical sides of each letter. The figures in the bible initial are well modelled with colour; the hair has those tight curls, but the face and eyes differ from those in **Mo** 8. However, in the bible initials, with the exception of the faces and eyes, the design elements are very similar to **Mo** 8.

If the Philippe le Bel bible was completed before 1314, there are three Parisian manuscripts securely dated as completed in 1317: the beautifully illustrated volumes containing a life of St Denis: Paris, BnF fr. 2090, 2091, and 2092.[25] They are justly famous for their full-page miniatures that depict the life of St Denis above but show scenes of daily life on and under the bridges of Paris in the lower portion.[26] In fr. 2090, fol. 1r (see Figure 4.4), the opening illuminated initial of leaves and vines includes the basketweave element on the left of the letter E, and the white penwork in the blue corners is fairly close to that of **Mo** fol. 350r. The little gold sprouts outside the frame of the initial are not found in **Mo** 8 and are a later feature; both the leaves and the dragon are later than those in **Mo** 8. In general, this illuminator is elegantly restrained; in the full-page miniatures, the figure style is similar but not an exact match.

[23] Lat. 1337 is available on microfilm; it is described, with bibliography but no photographs, at http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000059290 (accessed 30 August 2017).

[24] This manuscript is available in colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455904r (accessed 13 September 2017). Avril 1998, 286–7 (no. 191), dates it c.1310. He sees this bible as related to BnF lat. 1337 (above) and BnF fr. 2090–2 (below).

[25] All three manuscripts can be seen in digital colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447296x (accessed 13 September 2017).

[26] For one such page (fr. 2091, fol. 125r), see Avril 1978, 34 (colour plate I).

Fig. 4.3 Paris, BnF lat. 248, Bible of Philippe le Bel, fol. 47v, initial for Exodus.

Another manuscript that dates from around 1317 is the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* (**Fauv**).[27] While the elements of decoration are similar, I take **Fauv** to be later than **Mo** 8 and basically unrelated. The border that frames the opening page (fol. 1r) is very thin, straight, and only breaks free into sprays of young leaves at the top of the page. In addition, there are tiny sprouts all along this border that are far more frequent than any in **Mo** 8, fol. 350r: one almost has the sense that the Fauvel page is growing. A slightly different thin border appears on fol. 63r, full of sprouts but not very leafy. A dog chases a rabbit who looks behind him, with his ears straight up; a vertical dragon moves to bite the leaves and ball that grow from the corner of the initial. When compared with **Mo** 8, the initial extenders in **Fauv** show similarities, but the end result is significantly different.

[27] A colour reproduction of the manuscript is available on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g (accessed 13 September 2017). The **Fauv** catalogue description is in Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-61. See also Bent and Wathey 1998; Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990.

Fig. 4.4 Paris, BnF fr. 2090, fol. 1r.

The Paris noted missal BnF lat. 861 can be placed slightly after 1318, because the new feasts of Corpus Christi (adopted in Paris in 1318) and St Louis of Anjou (canonized in 1317) were added near the end by the main hand (fols. 465r and 470v) but were not in his exemplar.[28] Like those in **Fauv**, the sprouting and leafy extenders form a rectangular box on three sides of the opening page, the first Sunday of Advent (fol. 1r). The basketweave design on the left side of the initial is still in evidence, and a double-page opening shows the Christmas initial with its full-grown leaves on the extender.

BnF lat. 861 is later than **Mo** 8, as is another Paris noted missal, BnF n.a.l. 2649, which the library acquired in 1970.[29] Since this manuscript includes Corpus Christi in the main hand, it must postdate 1318. On fol. 7r, at the start of Advent, the artist has enclosed three sides of the page with a rectangular frame, but, unlike the page in BnF lat. 861, it is the right side of the border, not the top, that breaks the rigidity of the box. In the historiated initial, the eyes of the figures are similar to those in **Mo** 8, but the faces are not the same.

[28] Stones's dating of the manuscript as 'c.1310?' must thus be pushed forward to the end of the decade; see Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:Cat. I-57. Three black and white photos are in Part I, vol. 1, illustrations 237–9. Of these, the historiated initial for St Louis, fol. 275v (ill. 237), is the most relevant. See also Avril 1978, 34 and colour plate II.

[29] BnF n.a.l. 2649 was first described in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 130 (1972), 510–15. An online description is at http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc70825v (accessed 30 August 2017) and a microfilm is available.

Fig. 4.5 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 5122, fol. 291r.

A glimpse into the future is afforded by the so-called Belleville Breviary (BnF lat. 10483 and 10484), a two-volume Dominican breviary made between 1323 and 1326, illuminated by Jean Pucelle and his assistants.[30] The folio for Psalm 1 is typical for this manuscript: a very busy page, with bas-de-page scenes and a two-headed dragon in the top centre of the page.

My last comparison is between **Mo** fol. 350r and the missal Lyon, Bibl. municipale 5122. The latter was made after 1318, since Corpus Christi is included in liturgical order by the main hand; François Avril dates the manuscript as late as the 1340s.[31] But still present in the historiated initials are the basketweave design and particularly the white scrollwork on the blue background, found also in **Mo** 8. What is different (and later) are the gold sprouts on the left of initials, the thinner, spiky leaves, and the style of the heads and dragons. The initial on fol. 291r (see Figure 4.5) shows St Louis seated on a throne; his robe is covered with fleurs-de-lis, and a halo encircles his crowned head. But the leaves just below are a type that shows the

[30] Both volumes are available in colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451634m and http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447295h (accessed 13 September 2017). See also Avril 1978, colour plates XI and XII.

[31] The Corpus Christi initial on fol. 185v is reproduced in Avril 1990, 44. On the date, see ibid., 41, n. 7. For colour images see the Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux website of the IRHT (http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/recherche/rechercheParVille.php; search by city, library and MS number, images 55 and 56). Avril 1970 also discussed this manuscript.

reverse side of some leaves, a feature apparent in a number of other manuscripts from c.1320 forward.[32]

To summarize, comparison of the decoration and initials in Parisian manuscripts from the 1260s to 1320s leads me to place fascicle 8 of the Montpellier manuscript sometime in the second decade of the fourteenth century,[33] more likely in the earlier part of that decade rather than the later. While it would be satisfying to be able to identify fascicle 8 as the motet book that Philippe le Bel gave his son Philippe V (r. 1316–22) for a wedding present in 1307, that date is probably several years too early for **Mo** 8.[34] There are at least a dozen more Paris liturgical manuscripts from the first two decades of the fourteenth century that constraints of space have forced me to omit here.[35] Yet, although I have found good matches for a number of traits that are distinctive on **Mo** fol. 350r and subsequent folios, I have failed to come up with any direct match for the heads and faces of the singing clerics of **Mo** 8. But this has not been a comprehensive search, and perhaps, as Alison Stones has suggested in her essay, we should look a bit north of Paris for the artist of **Mo** 8.[36]

## MANUSCRIPTS CITED

London, BL Add. 16905

London, BL Add. 17341

Lyon, Bibl. municipale 5122

[32] We can see similar leaves in parts of BnF fr. 2090–2 and in fourteenth-century additions (fols. 661–91) to a late thirteenth-century breviary, BnF lat. 13233. Good examples of these later additions to lat. 13233 are the miniatures of St Louis (fol. 673r) and St Louis of Anjou (fol. 679r). In several places we can see the turned-over leaves that show the back rather than the front of the leaves. This manuscript is available in colour on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447289s (accessed 13 September 2017), and various illuminated excerpts are on the *Enluminures* website, http://www.lesenluminures.com (accessed 30 August 2017). The added folios are dated c.1330.

[33] As did Stones 2013–14, Part I, vol. 2:50.

[34] The royal accounts for January–July 1307 contain the following entry as no. 24060: 'Pour un livre des motez pour Monsieur Philippe, escrire notes, enluminer et lier: 14 l[ivres]'. Five entries earlier is something else 'aus noces de Mons. Philippe', whose wedding took place in January 1307. These entries are in Fawtier and Millard 1954, 2:545.

[35] I have tracked nearly sixty Parisian liturgical books from c.1200 to c.1340 in Baltzer 2016.

[36] A similar situation is likely for the manuscript $\mathbf{W}_2$ (c.1250). While the penwork decoration of initials is very Parisian, the initials, both historiated (singing clerics) and illuminated, have not been exactly matched with known workshops in Paris. Both $\mathbf{W}_2$ and **Mo** have occasional Picard spellings in their texts.

Montpellier, BIU, Bibliothèque universitaire de médecine, H. 196 (= **Mo**)

Nürnberg, Stadtsbibliothek, Solg. Ms. 4.4°

Paris, BnF fr. 146 (= **Fauv**)

Paris, BnF fr. 2090, 2091, 2092

Paris, BnF lat. 248

Paris, BnF lat. 830

Paris, BnF lat. 861

Paris, BnF lat. 1023

Paris, BnF lat. 1337

Paris, BnF lat. 10483–4 (2 vols.)

Paris, BnF lat. 13233

Paris, BnF n.a.l. 2649

Paris breviary auctioned from Drouot (November 2008)

CHAPTER 5

# Double Motet Layouts in the Montpellier Codex and Contemporaneous *Libri motetorum*

OLIVER HUCK

HISTORIES of layouts of polyphonic music describe parts in succession in the earliest sources, followed by pseudo-score layout (for example in the so-called monotextual or conductus motet), then an arrangement of the parts in 'reading windows' (*Lesefenstern*; either placing the upper voices of a double motet in two columns on one page or one voice per page of an opening and the tenor on the lowermost stave), and finally by the so-called choir-book layout, which presents the upper parts on facing pages of an opening with the tenor no longer at the bottom of the page but following on directly from either the motetus or the triplum. This becomes the standard layout, and the change of the position of the tenor points to a change in the conceptualization of the tenor part.[1]

These different layouts do not succeed each other in chronological order. There is neither a particular 'Notre-Dame layout' nor an '*Ars antiqua* layout' nor yet an '*Ars nova* layout' of three-part motets. The consecutive presentation of voices is found from the very beginning of the transmission of motets until the late fourteenth century. And the presentation of the upper parts in two columns with the tenor on a continuous stave at the bottom, which emerges with the *liber motetorum*, is still found in manuscripts of the second half of the fourteenth century. The only correlation between repertoire layers and distinct layouts is found for the more particular layouts of **Mo** 7 and 8, to be discussed here.

## LAYOUTS IN **MO** 8

TWENTY-ONE out of the forty-two motets in the final fascicle of **Mo** are laid out, as in many other thirteenth-century manuscripts, with the upper parts in columns and a continuous stave for the tenor at the bottom (Figure 5.1**a**); this will be defined here as the standard-column layout. The other twenty-one motets employ a layout not found in any thirteenth-century manuscript (hereafter '**Mo** 8 layout'). This characteristic **Mo** 8 layout places the end of the triplum on one or more continuous staves below both columns, followed by the tenor on the

[1] For a discussion of motet layouts and their histories, see Huck 2015.

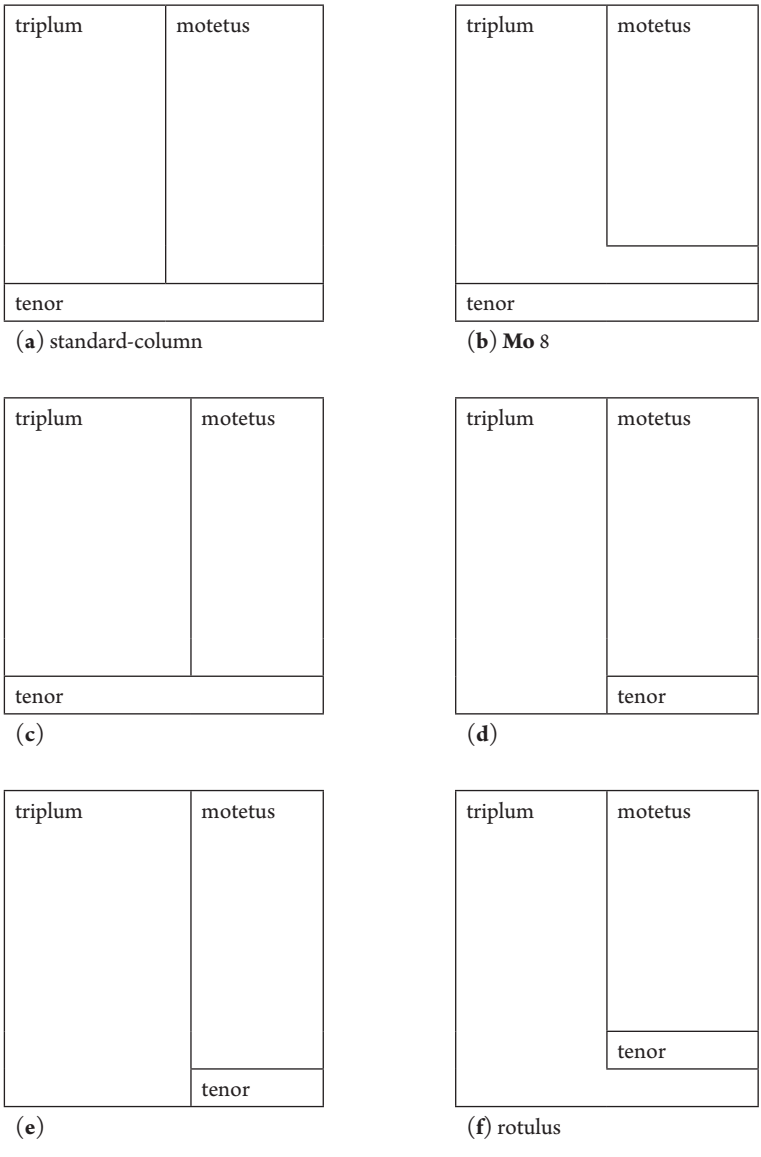



Fig. 5.1 Motet page layouts.

(**a**) Standard-column layout. Triplum and motetus in equal columns, and tenor in continuous stave at the bottom of the page.

(**b**) **Mo** 8 layout. Triplum and motetus in equal columns, but last stave(s) of triplum continuous across the page. Tenor is a continuous stave below the last stave of triplum.

(**c**) Similar to standard-column layout, but triplum column is wider.

(**d**) Triplum and motetus same width; tenor copied below motetus.

(**e**) Triplum wider than motetus column; tenor copied below motetus.

(**f**) Triplum is continuous on last stave of page; tenor copied below motetus.

lowermost stave (Figure 5.1**b**).[2] The ruling of the pages is the same as for the standard-column layout; only later were the staves of the columns connected.[3]

Examining motets that have concordances in other manuscripts may help to get a sense of the layout in the exemplars and answer the question of whether the two different layouts in **Mo** 8 are the result of scribal decisions or were copied from the scribe's exemplars (see Table 5.1).[4] Only five out of forty-two motets have concordances in other extant manuscripts with the same number of voices and the same texts, the only concordances of relevance here. Two motets, *Tout solas/Bone Amour/NE ME BLASMES MIE* and *En mai/J'ai trouvé/FIAT TENOR*, are found in both **Mo** 8 (**Mo** 8,318 and 320, fols 367v–368v and 369v–370v) and the Turin codex, **Tu** (fols 39r–40r and 22r–23r).[5] The layout is the same in both manuscripts: the standard-column layout (**a**). *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* is found in **Mo** 8 (**Mo** 8,345, fol. 397r–v) and in the Bamberg codex, **Ba** (fol. 34v).[6] **Ba** employs the standard-column layout, and I would argue that the layout in **Mo** was intended to be the same as in **Ba** because the two upper parts are copied as if in two equal columns, despite the continuous stave they are drawn on above the tenor (on fol. 397r).[7]

*Amours/Solem/SOLEM* is found twice in **Mo**, in the eighth fascicle as well as in the seventh (**Mo** 8,338, fols 390r–391v, and **Mo** 7,289, fols 328r–329v). While in the eighth fascicle the **Mo** 8 layout is employed throughout, this layout is unique within the seventh fascicle and limited to fol. 329v.[8] The preceding pages show a layout

[2] This layout is slightly modified on some pages: on fols 355r and 377r the motetus is continued at the end of the lowermost stave after the tenor. On fols 365r and 367r the triplum is continued at the end of the lowermost stave after the tenor. On fols 352v, 381r, and 383v the end of the respective triplum is written on several continuous staves, followed by columns with the upper parts of the next motet. On fols 357v, 359v, 388r, and 389r there is only one such stave, which is only partly filled by the end of the triplum. In the last case, *Puis qu'en amer/Quant li jolis/IN SECULUM* (**Mo** 8,336, fols 388r–389r) one could argue that the motet does not employ the **Mo** 8 layout, because none of the other pages employs it.

[3] For example, fol. 382v, where, in the fifth stave, the top line of the bridge between the columns is missing.

[4] See Wolinski 1988, 20.

[5] See Auda 1953. The first part of this composite manuscript, split later into vari 42–5, has been dated 1316–18. See Miethke 1974, 537. On evidence for a later date see Mark Everist's chapter in this volume, p. 16.

[6] **Ba** is available at http://www.nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-0000002752 (accessed 31 August 2017). Pfändtner 2012 argues for a provenance of the manuscript from southern France.

[7] I also regard fol. 373r as standard-column layout. See *Li savours/Li grant desirs/NON VEUL MARI* (**Mo** 8,323, fols 373r–374r), but fols 375r and 395r as **Mo** 8 layout because this is found on the other pages containing the motets in question: see *Quant se depart/Hé, cuer/IN SECULUM* (**Mo** 8,324, fols 374r–375r) and *Qui d'amours/Tant me plaist/VIRGA YESSE* (**Mo** 8,342, fols 394v–395r).

[8] This is the only page in **Mo** 7 that employs this layout. In the eighth fascicle the triplum is sometimes continued at the end of the lowermost stave; on fol. 331v there are continuous staves for the triplum, but no tenor. One or more continuous staves for the triplum before a new motet are found on fols 292r, 293r, 298v, 300v, and 323v; on fol. 321v the continuous stave is divided between the two upper parts.

Table 5.1 **Mo** 8 motets with concordances and their layouts

| | ***Mo*** *8* | ***Mo*** *7* | ***Tu*** | ***Ba*** | ***Da*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Tout solas/Bone amour/ NE ME BLASMES MIE* | **a** 367v–368v | | **a** 39r–40r | | |
| *En mai/J'ai trouvé/ FIAT TENOR* | **a** 369v–370v | | **a** 22r–23r | | |
| *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/ IOHANNE* | **a** 397r–v | | | **a** 34v | |
| *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* | **b** 390r–391v | **d/b** 328r–329v | | | |
| *Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* | **b** 379v–381r | | | | **d**? Ibr–v |

with the tenor written only below the motetus (Figure 5.1**d**). It seems unlikely that the exemplar for this motet in the seventh fascicle had the same changes in the layout. It is probable that both versions in **Mo** were copied from different exemplars with the same **Mo** 8 layout.[9]

*Virginale/Descendi/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* is found in **Mo** 8 (**Mo** 8,330, fols 379v–381r) and on a fragmentary leaf in the Darmstadt manuscript, **Da** (fol. Ibr–v). In **Mo**, this motet is found with the **Mo** 8 layout. **Da** employs a different layout, with the tenor beginning in the right column below the motetus; the page turn occurs in the motetus after *floruis-* (bar 27).[10] The complete extant leaves from **Da** have eight staves per page and sometimes the tenor begins below the motetus but is continued on the left half of the lowermost stave, as on fol. IIr. The three missing staves of fol. Ibr must have contained twelve bars of the triplum (missing after *felix es*, bar 15) and nineteen bars of the tenor (missing after bar 8). It seems unlikely that the missing part of the triplum was written on only two more staves in the left column, and that the missing part of the tenor was written on two more staves in the right column and the entire stave at the bottom of the page. It seems more likely that the triplum filled the entire left column.

To sum up the layouts of the concordances, no other manuscript employs the **Mo** 8 layout for an entire motet. The possibility that the scribe of the final fascicle copied

[9] In **Mo** 8 the page turns occur in all three parts simultaneously. Not so in **Mo** 7, where the space on fol. 328r is miscalculated, then on fol. 328v the width of the columns is adjusted, but again on fol. 329r there is too much space in the right column; fol. 329v may show the layout of its exemplar. More evidence for different exemplars for the two fascicles is to be found in the variant readings. See Tischler 1978, 1:lxvii and 2:130–3.

[10] See Rokseth 1935–9, 3:240–2. It is unlikely that the three missing staves of fol. Ibv contained eight bars of the motetus (missing after *revertere*, bar 63), twenty-nine bars of the triplum (missing after *nau-*, bar 42), and forty-five bars of the tenor. It is probable that not only the last line of the motetus and the last lines of the triplum but a good portion of the tenor as well have been written on the missing opposite recto page.

the layouts he found in his exemplars cannot be discounted. The only motet to confirm this hypothesis, however, is **Mo** 8,338, thanks to the inconsistency of the layout in the seventh fascicle of **Mo** with the **Mo** 8 layout on its last page. For the other pieces, it is more likely that the **Mo** 8 layout was the scribe's own decision, and this would explain some miscalculations of space.[11] In the light of **Mo** 8,330 and 338 there is no need to assume that the **Mo** 8 layout was also used in the exemplars for **Mo**.

Do the layouts of **Mo** 8 help answer the questions of date and provenance of this fascicle and its repertoire? If we accept a chronology of the production of this manuscript that places the first and seventh fascicles in the 1290s (based on their illuminations) and the eighth fascicle after this date, perhaps not earlier than 1315,[12] there is at least one motet that is certainly older than these dates of copying, since it is mentioned by the Anonymous of St Emmeram in 1279, *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* (**Mo** 8,309, fols 355v–356v);[13] the same may be true for the concordance with **Ba**. Another 'older' piece, *La bele estoile/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE* (**Mo** 8,345, fol. 397r–v), is found in **Mo** 8 with the standard-column layout, and the motet mentioned by the Anonymous of St Emmeram (**Mo** 8,309) with the **Mo** 8 layout. If we consider **Tu** and **Da** as more recent manuscripts than **Ba** and the concordances with these sources as the more recent repertoire, we notice that **Mo** 8's concordances with **Tu** show the standard-column layout and the concordance with **Da** the **Mo** 8 layout. Therefore, we should not consider the different layouts as an indication for repertoire layers in a chronological order. What forces the modifications of the standard-column layout is the need for more space for the triplum as a result of the rhythmic structures found in some, but not all, of the motets in the final fascicle.

## DOUBLE MOTET LAYOUTS IN LATE THIRTEENTH- AND EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CODICES AND ROTULI

THE **Mo** 8 layout is as different from all of the layouts in early fourteenth-century sources as it is from those in other thirteenth-century manuscripts. Layouts in early fourteenth-century manuscripts are confined to a unity of motet and page or opening. None of the thirteenth-century manuscripts respects the opening or the page as a unit for a single motet. **Hu** and **Fauv**[14] are the earliest complete manuscripts that avoid page turns within a single motet and that also contain motets of the thirteenth-century repertoire. Layouts in later thirteenth-century manuscripts do not show the same arrangement of the parts on the page as the **Mo** 8 layout. For example, **Mo** 7 employs, in addition to the standard-column layout,

[11] See fols 355r, 356r, 364v, 377r, 380r, and 382r.

[12] See Chapter 3 in this volume by Alison Stones, p. 77. *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT* in **Mo** 8 (**Mo** 8,312, fols 359v–361r) cannot have been composed later than 1317, if we regard as a quotation the motetus of *La mesnie fauveline qui a maufere/J'ai fait nouvelement amie/GRANT DESPITAI JE FORTUNE DE FAUVEL* in **Fauv** (fols 15v–16r). See Butterfield 1998, 137.

[13] See Yudkin 1990, 236.

[14] **Fauv** is available on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g (accessed 13 September 2017).

a further five layouts prefigured in the ruling (but not in the pricking in the upper margin, which does not vary on pages with columns of unequal width):

1. columns for the upper parts and a continuous stave for the tenor at the bottom (as found in **Ba** and many other thirteenth-century manuscripts) (Figure 5.1**a**);
2. three columns in one motet where the tenor is texted, a layout also found in **Ba**;[15]
3. columns of unequal width for the upper parts, with a wider column for the triplum (Figure 5.1**c**), and a continuous stave for the tenor at the bottom, a layout also found in **Tu**;[16]
4. placement of the tenor only below the motetus in the motetus column (Figure 5.1**d**),[17] a layout also found in fragmentary manuscripts in Stockholm[18] and Vorau;[19]

[15] In **Mo**, *Qui amours veut maintenir/Li dous pensers qui me/CIS A CUI JE SUI AMIE* (**Mo** 7,280 fols 316r–319v) has this layout on fols 316v–319v and a different layout on fol. 316r; in **Ba** (fols 32v–34r) this motet is written in three columns throughout.

[16] See, in both manuscripts, *Or voi je bien/Eximium decus virginum/VIRGO* and *Aucuns vont souvent/Amor qui cor vulnerat/KYRIE ELEYSON* (**Mo** 7,273, fols 304r–305v and **Mo** 7,264, fols 290v–292r; in **Tu**, fols 1r–2v and 13r–14r); only in **Tu**, *Entre Adam et Haniket/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* (**Tu** fols 2v–3v); only in **Mo**, *Bien me doi sor toutes riens d'amours loer/Je n'ai que que nus en die/KYRIE FONS* (**Mo** 7,262, fols 286r–288r), *Aucun se sont loé d'amours/A Dieu quemant amouretes/SUPER TE* (**Mo** 7,263, fols 288r–290r), *Mout me fu grief li departir/Robin m'aime, Robin m'a/PORTARE* (**Mo** 7,265, fols 292r–293r), *Tres joliement me voell/Imperatrix supernorum civium/CIS A CUI JE SUI AMIE* (**Mo** 7,272, fols 301v–302v), *Quant vient en mai k'erbe va verdoiant/Ne sai que je die/IOHANNE* (**Mo** 7,274, fols 304r–305v), *Iam nubes dissolvitur/Iam novum sydus oritur/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,275, fols 304v–306v), and *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,289 fols 328r–329v).

[17] *J'ai mis toute ma pensée lonc tans/Je n'en puis mais se je ne chant/PUERORUM* (**Mo** 7, 255, fols 275v–277v), *Entre Copin et Bourgois Hanicot/Je me cuidoie tenir/BELE YSABELOS* (**Mo** 7,256, fols 277v–279r; on fol. 278r the tenor is written below the column of the triplum), *Entre Adan et Hanikel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* (**Mo** 7,258, fols 280v–282r), *Par un matinet l'autrier m'aloie/Lés un bosket/PORTARE* (**Mo** 7,259, fols 282r–283v), *L'autre jour par un matinet/Hier matinet/ITE MISSA EST* (**Mo** 7,261, fols 284v–285v), *Amours dont je sui espris/L'autrier au douz mois d'arvil/CHOSE TASSIN* (**Mo** 7,270, fols 298v–300v), *Coument se poet nul tenir/Se je chante mains que ne suell/QUI PRENDROIT A SON CUER* (**Mo** 7,277, fols 310v–311r), and *Nouvele amour m'a saisi/Haute amor m'a assalli/HÉ DAME JOLIE* (**Mo** 7,290, fols 330r–331v).

[18] Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 813 contains five hitherto unknown motets; Fr 5786 contains the motets *O Maria virgo davitica* [449]/*O Maria maris stella* [448]/*VERITATEM* (fol. 1r–v) and *Non pepercit deus filio* [260]/*Non pepercit deus nato* [261]/*MORS* (fol. 2r–v). See Björkvall, Brunius, and Wolodarski 1996; Brunius 2013. The standard-column layout appears in *Non pepercit deus filio* [260]/*Non pepercit dues nato* [261]/*MORS* (fol. 2r–v of Fr 5786) and *Dies ista celebris/Hec est dies/MANERE* (fols 1r and 2r of the second bifolium of Fr 813, but not fol. 1v, with the tenor on a continuous stave below the columns, and fol. 2r, with the tenor below the triplum).

[19] Vorau, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, 23 (Fragment 118D, hereafter **Vorau**); see Flotzinger 2007, 88–99. *Entre Adan et Hanikel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* (fol. 1r) by Adam de la Halle has the same layout as in **Mo** (**Mo** 7,258, fols 280v–282r).

5. columns of unequal width for the upper parts, with a wider column for the triplum and a placement of the tenor only below the motetus in the motetus column (Figure 5.1**e**), a layout not found elsewhere.[20]

The **Mo** 8 layout occurs in two motets in **Fauv** as well: *Quoniam novi probatori exitu/Heu! Fortuna subdola/HEU ME! TRISTIS EST ANIMA MEA* (fol. 30r) and *Super cathedram moysi latitat/Presidentes in thronis seculi/RUINA* (fol. 1v). A slightly modified version of this layout occurs in *Super/Presidentes/RUINA* and several other motets in the Cambrai fragments (**Cambrai**), where, by contrast, the tenor begins on the same stave on which the triplum ends, in order to place a complete motet on one page wherever possible.[21] *Super/Presidentes* is also found in the Brussels rotulus (**Br**) with a related layout (Figure 5.1**f**), with the tenor placed only below the column of the motetus and the end of the triplum on continuous staves below both columns.[22] This layout is found throughout in this and two other rotuli[23] – a manuscript type known to have been used in performance.[24]

In contrast to an opening in a codex, the reading area of a rotulus does not have a fixed size that fits a page, but one that can be adjusted according to the length of each motet. The layout of these rotuli shows the beginnings of a correspondence between the unity of the motet and the unity of the writing (and reading) area. This layout (**f**) had been employed twice in the supplements to **Mo**'s seventh fascicle,[25] but without preserving the unity of the motet and the page, and can be found in at least five more codices.[26] One could imagine that the exemplars for the motets

[20] See *S'amoures eüst point de poer/Au renouveler du jolis tans/ECCE* (**Mo** 7,253, fols 270r–273r), *Aucun ont trouvé/Lonc tans/ANNUN[TIANTES]* (**Mo** 7,254, fols 273r–275r), *J'ai mis toute ma pensée lonc tans/Je n'en puis mais se je ne chant/PUERORUM* (**Mo** 7,255, fols 275v–277v), and *Entre Copin et Bourgois Hanicot/Je me cuidoie tenir/BELE YSABELOS* (**Mo** 7,256, fols 277v–279r, but columns of equal width on fols 278v–279r).

[21] Images of Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale, Inc. B 165 are available on DIAMM. This fragment belonged to the same manuscript as Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale, B 1328 (hereafter both referred to as **Cambrai**). The folio numbers cited follow the foliation of Lerch 1987.

[22] See the facsimile of **Br**, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier 1990. Kügle 2008, 151–2, argues that the rotulus was an 'admonitory gift and a token of support for the new abbot' Winricus, of the abbey Stavelot Malmedy, copied 'somewhere between 28 April and 4 June 1335'.

[23] Paris, BnF, Collection de Picardie 67 and Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1949.

[24] See, for example, the miniature in Paris, BnF fr. 1584, fol. 414v, available on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490444/f850.image.r=1584 (accessed 13 September 2017).

[25] See in the supplements to the seventh fascicle, *Pour chou que j'aim ma dame/Li jolis tans que je voi revenir/KYRIE ELEYSON* (**Mo** 7,299, supplement 1, fols 344r–345v), and fol. 348v only of *Theoteca virgo geratica/Las pour qoi l'eslonge tant/QUI PRANDROIT* (**Mo** 7,302, supplement 2, fols 348r–349v). Neither motet has concordances in other manuscripts.

[26] See Paris, BnF n.a.l. 2444, *In virtute ominum/Decens Carmen cedere/CLAMOR MEUS* (fol. 48r), and *Flos ortus inter lilia quorum radix/Celsa cedrus ysopus effecta/O QUAM MAGNUS PONTIFEX* (fol. 49r); Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 983,

with this layout were rotuli and that the changing attitude towards the page and the opening in the codices resulted from different approaches and responses to copying a rotulus.

## LAYOUT, PARATEXT, AND THE CONCEPT OF TENOR

THERE is evidence for a new conceptualization of polyphonic music in the rotulus layout.[27] The tenor is no longer presented as the visual fundament at the bottom of the page, and one could argue that this is the case because the concept of what the tenor itself might be has changed. Placing the motetus and tenor in close relation to each other emphasizes the importance of two-part counterpoint. Even before the change in the page layout occurs, the equal importance of the voices is visible from their initials. Unlike in other thirteenth-century manuscripts, including fascicles 3–5 of **Mo**, in **Mo** fascicles 7 and 8 there is now no longer a difference in size and style between the tenor initials and those of the upper parts (this is also true of **Da**,[28] **Fauv**, the Stockholm manuscripts, and **Tu**). This layout suggests an idea of three-part polyphonic writing with parts of equal importance. The meaning of 'tenor' therefore changes; it is no longer limited to designating a voice presenting pre-existing material, a status visible from the exclusive position at the bottom of the page. Now each low voice that can be placed elsewhere on the page is a 'tenor'.

The new concept of 'tenor' is visible from the use of this designation as a paratext in the final fascicle of **Mo**, even before the change in the page layout occurs.[29] In **Mo**, words accompanying the tenor of motets should not be called texts,[30]

*Tant a souttille pointure la tres gentille/Bien pert qu'en moy n'a dart point mal/CUIUS PULCRITUDINEM SOL ET LUNAMIRANTUR* (fol. 62v); Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Z260, *Li enseignement de Chaton/De touz les bien qu'amors/ECCE TU PULCHRA ET AMICA MEA* (fol. 86r); as well as once in **Cambrai** (fol. 14v, *Flos ortus inter lilia quorum radix/Celsa cedrus ysopus effecta/O QUAM MAGNUS PONTIFEX*) and twice in **Fauv** (fol. 4r, *Detractor est nequissima vulpis/Qui secuntur castrasunt/VERBUM INIQUUM ET DOLOROSUM AB HOMINABITUR DOMINUS*, and fol. 42v, *Celi domina quam sanctorum/Maria virgo virginum/PORCHIER MIEUZ ESTRE AMEROIE*).

[27] Only at the end of the fourteenth century is there evidence that the different manuscript types, rotulus and codex, apply to different repertoires: the codex for sacred music, the rotulus for secular music, as shown in a miniature in a manuscript of Evrart De Contys, *Les problèmes d'Aristote* (single leaf sold 13 June 2012 by Christie's), http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manuscripts/evrart-de-conty-les-problemes-daristote-single-5573293-details.aspx (accessed 31 August 2017). In the extant fourteenth-century rotuli, as well as in the extant codices, there is no such distinction of repertoires.

[28] See, for example, *Celi domina quam* [552]/*Ave virgo virginum ave lumen* [553]/*ET SUPER* (fol. 3v), with its concordance in **Ba** (fol. 3r).

[29] The 'new' features in the visual organization of the motets in the final fascicle of **Mo** do not occur together. Of the seven motets sharing the 'tenor' paratext, only one, *Benedicta Marie/Beate virginis/BENEDICTA TENOR* (**Mo** 8,326, fols 376v–377v), employs the **Mo** 8 layout.

[30] Wolinski 1988, 33, calls them 'tenor texts'.

but paratexts,[31] because most often they are neither aligned with the music[32] nor intended to be sung with the music as written.[33] Moreover, in fascicles 2–6 of **Mo** the paratexts accompanying the tenors have been added only later, often by different hands.[34] In fascicles 7 and 8 they are written by the same hands as the music and the text.

[31] I cannot elaborate on 'tenor texts' as paratexts here, but I would like to draw attention to further evidence. On fol. 291r of **StV**, available on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432457p.r=15139.langDE (accessed 13 September 2017), is the two-part clausula *Flos filius eius*. A paratext is written in the margins: *On dist que j'ai ame. super Flos.* The first part, *On dist que j'ai ame*, is the incipit of the text of the motetus *L'en dit que j'ai ame* [666]; the last word of this phrase, *flos*, is an indication of a tenor beginning with *Flos* as a part of the responsory *Stirps Jesse, Virgo*; both parts together are the motet *L'en dit que j'ai ame/FLOS FILIUS EIUS*. The preposition *super*, relating the two parts of the phrase to each other, can either be read as the relation of tenor and motetus – the motetus is built on the tenor beginning with *Flos* – or as the relation between the entire motet and the clausula sharing the same music – the motet is built on the clausula beginning with *Flos*. The motet is found in $\mathbf{W}_2$, fol. 237v, available at http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/1099-helmst&distype=thumbs-img&imgtyp=o&size= (accessed 31 August 2017), furnishing the motetus with the complete text. It is obvious that, in this manuscript, *L'en dit que j'ai ame* is not a paratext but the incipit of the lyrics, the beginning of the text sung to the music of the upper voice, the motetus. The words accompanying the lower voice, the tenor (which, as in many early manuscripts with motets, is not written in pseudo-score layout but after the motetus), *Flos filius eius*, can either be considered as a text (the lyrics sung to the music of the tenor) or as a paratext, identifying the tenor. The music of the tenor is a part of the responsory *Stirps Jesse, Virgo* to be sung in the Office for the Assumption of Mary; it is exactly the bit of music set to the words *Flos filius eius*. But the text underlay does not align text and music in the same way as the responsory. The distribution of the text, which was written down before the music was inserted, just marks the beginning and the end of the space needed for the tenor. The text is not aligned to the music, as can be seen at the last syllable without music and from the fact that the music from the gradual is repeated in the motet, but not the text. *Flos filius eius* is the incipit of the tenor. The words accompanying the tenor are not a text but a paratext.

[32] Wolinski 1988, 36, notes that the 'tenor texts' in **Mo** 'were not underlaid to the melody as they would have been sung in the parent chant'. To give just one example from **Mo** 8: in *Se je chante/Bien doi amer/ET SPERABIT* (**Mo** 8,311, fols 357v–359v), the tenor bears the paratext ET SPERABIT, but quotes only that part of the *Alleluia. Letabitur iustus* (M49) cited as *Et spera*. See Schlager 1968, 277–9.

[33] The only motet with a complete text in the tenor in **Mo** 8 is *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* (**Mo** 8,319, fols 368v–369v). Unlike **Mo** 7 and **Ba**, there is no layout in three columns in the eighth fascicle of **Mo**. In *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* (**Mo** 8,309, fols 355v–356v) and *De mes amours/L'autrier m'estuet/DEFORS COMPIEGNE* (**Mo** 8,321, fol. 371r–v), the text of the pastorelle *Dehors compignes* (R 1256) can be sung to the tenor voice, but **Mo** gives only incipits as paratexts. The other French tenors, chansons without concordances, are given in **Mo** 8 only with incipits not distributed to the music. In *Dieus comment/O regina/NOBIS CONCEDAS* (**Mo** 8,307, fols 353v–354v), *Nobis concedas* and *o benigna* are separated and aligned with the music as in the sequence *Inviolata integra et castaes Maria* (M 85), but the intervening text, *veniam per secula*, is missing.

[34] In fascicles 2–6 of **Mo**, text and music hands could be the same scribe (See Wolinski 1988, 20, hands 'V' and '2'), and the 'tenor texts' are missing in some of the gatherings

In addition, some of the tenors in **Mo** 8 are accompanied by the additional word 'tenor'. The paratext 'tenor' is found in **Vorau**, **Fauv**, **Br**, and **Cambrai**, but not in **Tu** nor in any other thirteenth-century motet manuscript.[35] In **Mo** this paratext is set to tenors that are not taken from plainchant (fols 362r, 372r, and 378v) and it is also added to *Fiat* (fol. 370r), *Benedicta* (fol. 376v), *Aptatur* (fol. 379r), and *Iohanne* (fol. 397r). Thus, not only in **Fauv**,[36] but already in **Mo** 8, 'tenor' does not only refer to pre-existing plainchant (or vernacular song) but can designate any low voice.[37] This fundamental change in the conceptualization of a motet is visible not only from the introduction of the paratext 'tenor' but also from the changes in the layout of the motet. There is evidence that rotuli were among the first manuscripts to present the tenor back to back with the motetus. Owing to the format of the rotulus, it is self-evident that the tenors of the motets found on one 'page' could not all occur on the lowermost stave. Early fourteenth-century codices show different approaches in copying this new layout. The final fascicle of **Mo** is unique: though it employs the paratext 'tenor', it retains the position of the tenor on the lowermost stave.

(ibid., 36). It is therefore unlikely that the 'tenor texts' have been copied from the same exemplars as the motets; even if there are minor errors that can be considered copying errors (ibid., 37), there are substantial errors confusing the tenor with others and suggesting that the scribes (ibid.) – all of them music scribes – identified the music of the tenors from their memory, without an exemplar at hand.

[35] But see the two-part motets in Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale, A 410, on fols 129v, 130v, and 131v, available on DIAMM.

[36] See Hoffman-Axthelm 1973, 3.

[37] Johannes de Grocheio uses 'tenor' in this sense, but for the motet he retains the concept of the tenor taken 'from an old melody' (*ex canto antiquo*). Rohloff 1972, 146.

CHAPTER 6

# *Deus in adiutorium intende* Revisited: Sources and Contexts*

EVA M. MASCHKE

Two distinct polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* hold places of prominence in various late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century motet collections.[1] One or both of these settings, notated in score, commonly appear either at the very beginning of a codex or rotulus, or at the beginning of a fascicle.[2] The first of the two settings (hereafter *Deus in adiutorium intende I*) opens the first fascicle of **Mo**. It is based on a pre-existing liturgical trope melody, to which it adds two upper voices. The other setting (hereafter *Deus in adiutorium intende II*), which opens **Mo** 8, does not appear to use pre-existing chant material. It starts with a cauda and presents newly composed material – typical features of the conductus. How did *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* become such a characteristic opening piece? Or, in Emma Dillon's words, 'Why was material both stylistically and functionally distinct from the main body deemed a fitting opening?'[3]

While the choice of the different three-part settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende* in **Mo** 1 and **Mo** 8 led Yvonne Rokseth to argue for the eighth fascicle having originally been an independent manuscript,[4] Dillon considers this choice to be central to the devotional framework of the whole codex. In her monograph *The Sense of Sound*, she sees the opening folio of **Mo**'s first fascicle as 'a miniature devotional exercise, readying the reader to embark on prayer'.[5] The reappearance of the

* This study was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) during my time as a research assistant at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (SFB 950) at the University of Hamburg. I would like to thank Wulf Arlt, Catherine A. Bradley, Karen Desmond, Solomon Guhl-Miller, and Oliver Huck for their comments on drafts. The article was completed before publication of Caldwell 2016, which discusses musical and textual connections between tropes on *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* and *Pater creator omnium*, a thirteenth-century refrain song. However, occasional references to the new article have been inserted.

[1] For a discussion of the two different settings and their concordances, focusing on editorial problems and particularly on the transcription of the rhythm, see Günther 1988.

[2] An overview of the concordances of each setting and the number of stanzas transmitted is easily accessible through the *Cantum pulcriorum invenire* conductus database, http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk (accessed 31 August 2017) (hereafter CPI conductus database).

[3] Dillon 2012b, 305.

[4] Rokseth 1935–9, 4:26. See also Wolinski 1992, 290, n. 4.

[5] Dillon 2012b, 309.

same trope in a different setting at the beginning of the last fascicle completes this experience.

Dillon emphasizes the 'new media of prayer books' flourishing during the middle of the thirteenth century.[6] She discusses various examples of books of hours, many of which open with the (untroped) versicle *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*. This approach, however, does not differentiate clearly enough between the two different instantiations of *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* and its trope *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*, nor does it take a closer look at the connections between motet collections and books of hours. Thus, Dillon's statement that *Deus in adiutorium* 'serves a bibliographic function' and has a 'meditative potential – as a ruminative space' remains slightly vague.[7] More importantly, the geographical patterns of transmission of the different polyphonic settings, as well as the monophonic trope on which one of the two settings is based, have been neglected in this discourse and are considered in more detail in this article.

As John Harper has summarized, the Divine Office of the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages followed a clear structure, beginning with opening versicles and usually ending with a blessing.[8] The versicle forms the 'first part of a short dialogue recited by a minister to which there is a collective response'.[9] The most common opening versicle was *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* ('O God make speed to save me'), which is based on the first verse of Psalm 69. The response was *Domine ad adiuvandum me festina* ('O Lord make haste to help me').[10] This set of versicle and response opened almost every medieval office, with the exception of 'the night Office of Matins which began with a verse from Psalm 50' (V. *Domine labia mea aperies*. R. *Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*; 'O Lord open thou my lips: and my mouth shall show forth thy praise'), which was 'normally followed by *Deus in adiutorium*'.[11]

Accordingly, this versicle is usually found at the beginning of the respective sections of books of hours, highlighted as an opening prayer by miniatures or decorated initials.[12] While books of hours became increasingly common as private prayer books during the thirteenth century, reading practices changed too. Dillon draws attention to 'the activity on the periphery of the text' of an early fourteenth-century book of hours (Lbl Stowe 17), which depicts a nun 'crouching over the book held on her knee' (fol. 117v), as well as 'two monks singing from a lectern'

[6] Ibid., 186.

[7] Ibid., 307 and 308. For a more differentiated view, see Caldwell 2016, 159–64, who has recently drawn attention to historical texts emphasizing the concept of continual prayer attached to *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, particularly the writings of John Cassian.

[8] Harper 1991, 76–7, Table 1. I use Harper's translations throughout.

[9] Ibid., 318.

[10] Ibid., 75.

[11] Ibid., 76.

[12] An example of *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* in a book of hours from Cambrai, the initial D of which depicts a woman kneeling in prayer, is shown in Caldwell 2016, 139–40.

(fol. 118r), and thus 'the two forms of reading: one, private, interior; the other performative, public'.[13]

*Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* is a trope based on this versicle, but is much less commonly performed and has a special history that will be discussed below. Its text reads (here taken from **Mo** 1):[14]

1. *Deus in adiutorium*
   *intende laborantium.*
   *Ad doloris remedium*
   *festina in auxilium.*

2. *Ut chorus noster psallere*
   *possit et laudes dicere*
   *tibi Christe rex glorie*
   *gloria tibi Domine.*

3. *In te Christe credentium*
   *miserearis omnium*
   *qui es Deus in secula*
   *seculorum in gloria.*

   *Amen amen alleluia.*
   *Amen amen alleluia.*
   *Amen amen alleluia.*
   *Amen amen alleluia.*

1. O God, make haste to
   help the suffering,
   come to their aid to
   relieve their sorrow.

2. So that our choir may
   sing out and give you praise,
   Christ, King of Glory;
   glory to you, O Lord.

3. O Christ, have mercy
   on all who believe in you,
   for you are God forever
   and ever, in glory.[15]

The earlier sources from Sens and Beauvais, discussed below, usually present what are the second and third stanzas in **Mo** 1 in reverse order and do not write out the 'Amen amen alleluia' section. Two eleventh-century Irish manuscripts containing an Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, Dtc and Duc, transmit the earliest known textual version of *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*, though in a different context to the trope above.[16] In these two Irish sources, which lack any musical notation, *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* forms part of the hymn *In te Christe credentium*, with a doubtful attribution to the sixth-century Irish abbot Columba.[17]

[13] Dillon 2002, 97. Abbreviated references to the manuscripts cited are used throughout the chapter; for a detailed list, see the Appendix, pp. 119–20.

[14] An overview on the sources and the number of stanzas they transmit is found in the CPI conductus database.

[15] Translation from Caldwell 2016, 152, who has slightly emended Stakel and Relihan's translation (Stakel and Relihan 1985, 1).

[16] Blume 1908, 283–5. For an edition, see Bernard and Atkinson 1898, Volume 1, 84–6; for manuscript descriptions see ibid., x–xiv, and Colker 1991, Volume 2, 1245–8.

[17] See Bolton 1967, 40.

## *DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM INTENDE LABORANTIUM:* MONOPHONIC VERSIONS AND THEIR CONTEXTS

SINCE only a small selection of the known monophonic versions are listed in Ursula Günther's study of *Deus in adiutorium intende*,[18] I outline here all of the currently known manuscripts (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2), including some heretofore unnoticed sources from France and Switzerland.[19] Océane Boudeau has recently compared all of the melodic versions of both the monophonic and the polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende I*,[20] and Mary Channen Caldwell has recently demonstrated textual borrowings as well as musical connections between *Deus in adiutorium intende I* and the refrain song *Pater creator omnium* (**F**, fol. 467r).[21] This article will therefore concentrate on the manuscripts and their different contexts of transmission.

Additionally, in the second part, the common opening function of both polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende* will be placed in the context of new developments in manuscript organization during the thirteenth century. In a distinct group of manuscripts from France (Beauvais, Laon, Le Puy, and Sens) and Switzerland (Sion/Sitten and Fribourg/Freiburg), the trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* has a clear opening function, while other non-liturgical manuscripts (the Engelberg manuscript EN Cod. 102, fol. 12v,[22] and the Weingarten manuscript Sl HB I Asc. 95, fol. 48(46)r)[23] present it in the context of *Benedicamus Domino* settings (for a list of sources, see Table 6.1).[24] Only the first group of manuscripts is explored in detail here, in an attempt to chart relationships between the monophonic and the polyphonic instantiations of *Deus in adiutorium intende* that share an opening function.[25]

[18] Günther 1988, 111–12.

[19] For a description of PR 13 (11), see Meyer 2013, 159–61.

[20] Boudeau, 2013, 1:451–2 ('List of Sources'), 2: 611–14 ('Appendix', with a comparative edition of all versions). My cordial thanks to Océane Boudeau for sharing her unpublished work with me.

[21] Caldwell 2016, 146–59. For a comparison of *Pater creator omnium* and the available versions of *Deus in adiutorium I* (except the newly discovered PR 13 (11), fol. 15r), see Caldwell 2016, 156–7, example 2.

[22] Digital images available at http://e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bke/0102 (accessed 31 August 2017).

[23] Two different modern foliations: in the upper right corner, 48; in the lower right corner, 46. Digital images available at http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz339701315 (accessed 31 August 2017).

[24] See also Arlt 1970, 2: 252.

[25] A lost miscellany TOm 1299, fol. 24v, mentioned by Gordon Anderson in his annotated conductus catalogue and therefore included in the CPI conductus database, will not be considered here, since I was not able to find further information about the context of *Deus in adiutorium intende* in the surviving manuscript description from Tours. The fifteenth-century TOm 1299 mainly contained *Éloges de la Touraine et de St Martin*. According to the description, fol. 24v collected "Prose et oraisons", beginning with *Deus Pater, qui creasti* (RH 4477). Collon (1905) 1979, 890. In this context, it seems possible that transposed digits caused the problem and Anderson confused the Chevalier numbers RH 4477 (*Deus Pater, qui creasti*) and RH 4447 (*Deus in adiutorium intende)*.

Table 6.1 Monophonic versions and transmission of the text of *Deus in adiutorium intende*

| *Monophonic versions of* Deus in adiutorium intende | *Later monophonic versions of* Deus in adiutorium intende | *Text-only versions* |
|---|---|---|
| EN Cod. 102, fol. 12v | | |
| | Fsn CSN III.3.1, p. 139, and Fsn CSN III.3.2, fol. 73r | Fcu L 40, fol. 64r, and Fk (in Fu) Z4 (56), fol. 87vb |
| | | Sk, no call number, fol. 84rb Sk Ms. 47, fol. 4v, and Sk Ms. 74, fol. 86r |
| Sl HB I Asc. 95, fol. 48(46)r† | | |
| LA 263, fol. 122r–v | | |
| G 4413, fols 86v and 132v LPsem A V 7 009, fols 47v–48r (= pp. 94–5) and 80r–v (= pp. 161–2) **StV**, fol. 32r–v | | LP 152 (Fonds Cortial), fol. 21r–v (text only) |
| PR 13 (11), fol. 15r | | |
| SEm 46, fol. 1v, and BnF lat. 1351, fols 3–4 | | |
| **LoA**, fol. 56v | | |

† Modern foliation in the upper right corner: 48; in the lower right corner: 46.

In its characteristic opening position, the monophonic trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* is only found in a particular season of the church year, namely the clerics' Offices (*Klerikerfeste*) between Christmas and New Year – a tradition that developed during the twelfth century.[26] As John Beleth explained in his *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, written between 1160 and 1164 in Paris, four festivities took place in this season,

> honoring members of the clergy and the choir during the week following the Nativity: the feast of Saint Stephen (26 December) honored the deacons, the feast of Saint John the Apostle (27 December) honored the priests, the feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December) honored the choirboys,

[26] I would like to thank Wulf Arlt for generously sharing his ideas and material on that matter. A summary of the contexts of 'the distinctive opening' of *Deus in adiutorium intende* is also given in Arlt 2000, 332. See also Caldwell 2016, 151.

Table 6.2 Polyphonic versions of *Deus in adiutorium intende*

| *3vv versions of* Deus in adiutorium intende (I) | *3vv (or 4vv) versions of* Deus in adiutorium intende (II) |
|---|---|
| **Ba**, fol. 62v | **Br** |
| **Da**, fol. 1ar | **Cambrai**, back flyleaf, recto (= Lerch, fol. 1r) |
| **MüC**, fol. 31v | |
| **Mo**, fol. 1r | **Mo**, fol. 350r |
| **Tu**, fol. 5r | **Tu**, fol. 4v |

> and the feast of the Circumcision (1 January) – or sometimes the feast of Epiphany (6 January) or at the octave of Epiphany (13 January) – honored the subdeacons.[27]

The feast of the subdeacons became known as the Feast of Fools, infamous for its unruliness, condemned in various edicts throughout the centuries.[28] In his *New History of the Feast of Fools*, Max Harris recently challenged this historiographical narrative, placing the development of the feast of the subdeacons 'not in a context of social disorder and clerical decay but in one of economic prosperity, intellectual ferment, and architectural and liturgical innovation'.[29]

In the context of these clerics' Offices, which were not as clearly regulated as the usual liturgy, the monophonic trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* is often found as an opening hymn, but the position of the trope in the liturgy of the Hours varies slightly. *Deus in adiutorium intende* opens the First Vespers of the Feast of Fools in Sens, discussed below, and in Laon.[30] As Max Harris explains, the Laon rubric *Ad vesperas quatuor subdiaconi sint cantores* ('At vespers, let four subdeacons be the singers') assigned 'to the selected subdeacons the privileged role of intoning the chants, usually reserved to the cantor or his deputy, the succentor'.[31] It is not impossible that, among the licences granted on that day, the subdeacons might have included occasional polyphony; however, no direct manuscript evidence records this performance practice.

As the Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Sens was installed during the time when Peter of Corbeil was the archbishop of Sens, from 1200 to 1222, Henri Villetard edited the contents of the manuscript SEm 46 as the *Office de*

[27] Harris 2011, 66. The tradition of the festive clerics' offices is also summarized in Arlt 2000, 326–7, and Arlt 1970, 220–8.

[28] According to Harris 2011, 86, the 'first official complaints about the Feast of Fools appear between 1198 and 1216'.

[29] Ibid., 66.

[30] Digital images of LA 263 are available at http://manuscrit.ville-laon.fr/_app/visualisation.php?cote=Ms263&vue=1 (accessed 31 August 2017). The *Deus in adiutorium intende* is found on fol. 122r–v.

[31] Harris 2011, 111.

*Pierre de Corbeil*.[32] In her recent doctoral dissertation about the Sens Office for the Feast of the Circumcision, Océane Boudeau included a manuscript heretofore unknown, an early thirteenth-century gradual from Sens now in the Bibliothèque municipale of Provins (PR 13 (11)).[33] Past research had focused on the early thirteenth-century manuscript SEm 46, of which an eighteenth-century copy (BnF lat. 1351) also survives.[34]

The manuscript now in the Bibliothèque municipale of Provins explicitly assigns *Deus in adiutorium intende* to the Feast of Fools, providing the rubric *In festo stultorum* (PR 13 (11), fol. 14v) at the beginning of the section and, introducing *Deus in adiutorium intende*, the rubric *Ad vesperas* (PR 13 (11), fol. 15r).[35] As Max Harris describes, the Vespers started with a prologue sung 'outside the main doors of the Cathedral, perhaps amid a crowd of lay worshippers', consisting of the two monophonic songs *Lux hodie, lux laetitiae* and *Orientis partibus*.[36] Both sung verses also open the Vespers of the Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Beauvais, as described by Wulf Arlt. In the manuscript **LoA**, fols 43r–44v, *Orientis partibus*, famous for its vernacular refrain 'Hez, hez, sire asne, hez!', is also transmitted as a three-part conductus setting.[37] The first item sung inside was *Deus in adiutorium intende*.

Arlt assumes a similar context for the version of *Deus in adiutorium intende* as it occurs in the St Martial manuscript BnF lat. 1139.[38] In this manuscript, *Deus in adiutorium intende* is among the voice-exchange hymns that are written monophonically but in fact seem to constitute polyphonic settings.[39] Sarah Fuller sees the St Martial *Deus in adiutorium intende* as 'a special case among the examples of successive notation in Lat. 1139', since it 'bears no external sign of unusual poetic-musical relationship (unless identical music for the first and second couplets of a hymn strophe can be counted as such)'.[40]

Opening the First Vespers in Laon, Sens, and probably also St Martial, the trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* is sung at the beginning of the Second Vespers in the Office for the Feast of Fools from Beauvais, on which Arlt presented an

[32] Ibid., 98; Villetard 1907. A coloured image of SEm 46, fol. 1v, including the rubric 'Lecta tabula incipiat sacerdos' ('Let the priest begin at the lectern') is found in Caldwell 2016, 153, fig. 3.

[33] Boudeau 2013, 1:451–2. Catalogued in Meyer 2013, 159–61. Digital images are available at http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=15601 (accessed 31 August 2017).

[34] Description and bibliography on the eighteenth-century copy, now BnF lat. 1351, are available at http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000059307 (accessed 31 August 2017). *Deus in adiutorium intende* is found at SEm 46, fol. 1v, and at BnF lat. 1351, fols 3–4.

[35] See also Boudeau 2012, 205.

[36] Harris 2011, 101.

[37] Arlt 1970, 1:53–64, 230–42.

[38] Arlt 1970, 2:252: 'ähnlich wohl auch in *Par* gedacht'.

[39] Fuller 1971, 171–2.

[40] Ibid., 179.

extensive seminal study.[41] In Le Puy, also investigated by Arlt, *Deus in adiutorium intende* opens the Prime (introduced by the rubric *Ad primam*) and the second Compline (rubric: *In completorio*).[42] The manuscript evidence from Le Puy shows that the medieval tradition of the clerics' feast was kept up until the early modern period and that the medieval repertory was 'still being adapted for the redaction of four-voice settings' in the sixteenth century.[43] Even though the two notated sixteenth-century copies of the Circumcision Office contain occasional polyphony for up to four voices[44] and show an ongoing creative reception of the medieval tradition, a polyphonic version of the trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* is not extant. Thus, the surviving manuscripts from Le Puy do not show any connection with the polyphonic settings discussed below.

As for Switzerland, two hitherto neglected sixteenth-century manuscripts from Fribourg, written in square notation and copied between 1511 and 1517, point to a different melodic tradition of *Deus in adiutorium intende*.[45] In combination with the trope *Domine nostra labia aperi tua gratia, Deus in adiutorium intende* opens the Matins of the Feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December).[46] Two further Fribourg manuscripts that transmit the text alone most likely refer to this different melodic tradition of *Deus in adiutorium intende*.[47]

Given the geographical proximity and the possibility of a separate Swiss tradition, it is likely that the *Ordinarium* from Sion (Sitten) in Switzerland, which is transmitted in the manuscripts Sk Ms. 47 and Sk Ms. 74, might have been part of this melodic tradition too, but manuscripts with music notation have not

[41] While the Office from Beauvais dedicated to the Feast of the Circumcision developed around 1160, the only available manuscript copy, now in London (**LoA**) dates from the early thirteenth century (Arlt 1970, 1:18–19). *Deus in adiutorium intende* is found at fol. 56v.

[42] No medieval manuscript witnesses for Le Puy's *Deus in adiutorium intende* have survived, but two notated sixteenth-century copies containing the Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy (G 4413 and LPsem A V 7 009), as well as a sixteenth-century copy of the ordinal (LP 152 (Fonds Cortial)), are available. (Arlt 2000, 324–6). In the ordinal, only the incipit is cited (LP 152 (Fonds Cortial)), fol. 21r and 21v). For a description of G 4413, which was considered to be lost for a long time but was rediscovered in Grenoble in 1981, see Amiet 1982, 112. Christian Meyer has also provided a description online at http://www.musmed.fr/CMN/FG4413.pdf (accessed 31 August 2017).

[43] Arlt 2000, 340.

[44] Ibid., 329.

[45] Fsn CSN III.3.1, pp. 138–9, and Fsn CSN III.3.2, fols 72v–73r; Ladner 1977, 34–8 (numbers 5 and 6, former shelfmarks Ms 1 and 2, Ms 2 being a duplicate copy of Ms 1). Digital images available at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/aef/CSN-III-3-1 and http://e-codices.ch/en/aef/CSN-III-3-2 (accessed 31 August 2017).

[46] While Fsn CSN III.3.1, p. 138, introduces *Domine nostra labia aperi/Deus in adiutorium intende* with the rubric '*In Die Innocentium. Ad Matutinas*', the rubric on Fsn CSN III.3.2, fol. 72v, reads '*In Festo Sanctorum Innocentium. Ad Matutinas*'.

[47] Fcu L 40, fols. 64r and 69r; Fk (in Fu), Z4 (56), fol. 87vb. On Fcu L 40, see Ladner 1976, 46–50. On Fk (in Fu) Z4 (56), see Ladner 1977, 129–34.

survived.[48] *Deus in adiutorium intende* is here sung during all of the clerics' Offices with the exception of the Feast of Fools. As stated in the following passage, the trope is sung by the choir, at the beginning of all hours except the Matins, which starts with the trope *Domine nostra labia aperi tua gratia*:

> Item in festo beati Stephani, beati Iohannis apostoli et sanctorum Innocentum, non incipit sacerdos Horas nec Matutinas, sed incipit chorus in Matutinis illorum trium dierum *Domine nostra labia aperi tua gratia*, etc. et in aliis Horis eorundem dierum incipit similiter chorus *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* etc.[49]

> Likewise, in the Feasts of St Stephen, of St John the Evangelist, and the Holy Innocents, it is not the priest who begins the Hours and Matins, but it is the choir that begins the Matins of those three feast days with *Domine nostra labia aperi tua gratia*, etc. The choir also opens all of the other Hours of these feast days, singing *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* etc.

In addition to the two manuscripts mentioned above, a breviary produced around 1460 for the Sion bishop Walther Supersaxo contains the trope *Deus in adiutorium intende*, under the rubric *Ad matutinum* at the Feast of St Stephen.[50] References to polyphonic performances have not been found.

## *DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM INTENDE I* AND ITS OPENING FUNCTION: A DISPARATE PICTURE?

No investigation to date has considered whether the particular liturgical circumstances of the clerics' Offices after Christmas might have provided an impetus for developing one or both of the three-part settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende*. As a working hypothesis, I suggest that the clerics' Offices, particularly the Feast of Fools, might have been a possible origin for the development of both these three-part settings. Allowing various licences, these special feast days might have served as an invitation to embellish the liturgy by inserting occasional polyphony.[51]

The transmission of the polyphonic settings is idiosyncratic: while the three-part *Deus in adiutorium intende I* is directly based on the chant, it does not in all cases maintain the opening function by presenting it at the beginning of a fascicle. By contrast, the transmission of the younger setting, *Deus in adiutorium intende II*, creates a more uniform impression, both functionally and in terms of its geographic

[48] Modern edition in Huot 1973, 393; see also ibid., 147. Sk Ms. 47 is a thirteenth-century manuscript and Sk Ms. 74 a fifteenth-century copy; *Deus in adiutorium intende* is found at Sk Ms. 47, fol. 4v, and Sk Ms. 74, fol. 86r.

[49] Huot 1973, 393. My sincere thanks to Wulf Arlt for drawing my attention to this passage.

[50] Sk, no call number, catalogue number 1, fol. 84rb, described in Ladner 1984, 19–27.

[51] See above pp. 104–8.

transmission, and maintains the traditional opening function in all of the contexts in which it occurs.

Only two extant manuscripts transmit both polyphonic settings: the Montpellier codex of unknown provenance (**Mo** 1 and **Mo** 8) and the liégeois manuscript now in Turin (**Tu**), which will be discussed in due course. The three manuscripts that contain only the first polyphonic setting all currently reside in German libraries, but their dates and provenances are in dispute. Of these three manuscripts, two (**Ba** and **Da**) were professionally produced and they contain large motet collections, sharing concordances with each other and with **Mo**.[52] **MüC**, on the other hand, represents a different type of manuscript, compiled by an individual monk in a scriptorium.

In terms of their *mise en page*, the Bamberg motet collection (**Ba**) and the so-called 'Wimpfen fragments' (**Da**) both highlight the setting of *Deus in adiutorium intende I*, though in **Ba** it does not open a fascicle. In comparison to **Mo** 1 and **Mo** 8, the decoration of **Da** is less precious and less lavish. As far as we can tell from the fragments, the first stanza of the three-voice *Deus in adiutorium intende I* must have been placed at the beginning of a fascicle, introduced by a red and blue puzzle initial; the textblock on which further stanzas should have been inserted remained empty. The motet *O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella/VERITATEM* must have followed immediately afterwards, on the same folio, but its beginning was cut off by the bookbinder, who re-used this manuscript as binding fragments.

Contrary to this, the scribes and compilers of **Mo** 1 and **Mo** 8 dedicated a full page to the *Deus in adiutorium* settings that open these respective fascicles, surrounded by decorative borders, from which birds and other real and mystical animals spring up.[53] However, while the text scribe of **Mo** 1 copied the text of the additional stanzas in the empty space left underneath the two systems of three staves, the text scribe of **Mo** 8 had to write the stanzas over the pre-existing music staves and left out the second stanza, *Ut chorus noster psallere*.

Even though **Ba** does not display *Deus in adiutorium intende I* as its opening piece, its *mise en page* – including the decorative surrounds of the initial letter 'D' that fill the whole page – suggests that *Deus in adiutorium intende I* (**Ba**, fol. 62v) was originally perceived as a distinct item and that the space underneath was left for potential later additions. This space was later filled with an oversized system of three staves, roughly drawn and containing an uneven number of lines per stave, adding some clausulae (without filling in the initials) to the proper collection of *IN SECULUM* hockets starting on fol. 63v. As in all the other polyphonic sources, *Deus in adiutorium intende I* is notated here in score. While the music fills one-and-

[52] Digital images of the two manuscripts are available at http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-0000002752 and http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-3471 (accessed 1 September 2017). A colour image of **Ba** is also found in Caldwell 2016, 155, fig. 4.

[53] See Chapters 3 and 4 in this volume, by Alison Stones and Rebecca Baltzer respectively.

a-half double systems of three staves, the additional stanzas are notated in a separate text block in the right half of the second double system.

The provenance of these two motet collections has been the subject of controversy. Karl-Georg Pfändtner recently suggested that **Ba**'s origins lay in southern France;[54] in consequence, a new assessment and further detailed research seems necessary. Owing to the middle high German motet text inserted in the tenor of the motet *Homo miserabilis/Homo luge/BRUMAS E MORS* (**Da**, fol. 14v), which reads *Brumas e mors, Brumas e mors; Brumas ist tod, o we der not*, previous research has assumed a German provenance for the Wimpfen motet collection.[55] Given the Dominican context of re-use, however, it is also possible that a German Dominican commissioned the book in the context of urban university book production outside Germany. As the Dominicans had their house of studies in Paris, the French capital would be one of the likely candidates. This model would be in line with Craig Wright's model of dissemination of the Notre-Dame manuscripts across Europe.[56]

A codicological reassessment of the Wimpfen fragments is overdue but beyond the scope of this article. As these fragments were re-used in book bindings of different host volumes, they may well come from different music manuscripts, an older one containing the organa written in Notre-Dame style and a newer one containing the motets, opened by *Deus in adiutorium intende I*. Future research should develop a more precise model about the former gathering structure and manuscript contexts of the different genres.

The third manuscript under discussion here, **MüC**, differs from these more professionally produced motet collections. Originating in a monastic context, it 'represents a true compendium of the immense variety of sacred music and treatises still practiced and consulted in the late Middle Ages', which is 'indicative of a historical interest'.[57] As for the date and provenance of the compendium, past research suggested the two extremes of 'ca. 1300 or ca. 1400, and Regensburg or Diessen [on the Ammersee, near Munich]'.[58] As the origin and the destination of manuscripts commonly differed during the Middle Ages, Marie Louise Göllner prefers the possibility 'that it was written in Regensburg and transferred at a later date to Diessen'.[59] She convincingly proves the Regensburg connection by referring to 'the prologue of the treatise at the beginning of the manuscript, written in the form of a dedication to Bishop Heinrich II of Regensburg'.[60]

Even though this compendium also contains a selection from the motet repertoire, it mostly transmits single motet voices without their tenors.[61] Contrary to the majority of motet collections under discussion here, the three-part setting of *Deus in adiutorium intende I* (**MüC**, fol. 31v) appears neither in the immediate proximity

[54] Pfändtner 2012.

[55] Gennrich 1958, 13.

[56] Wright 1989, 267–72.

[57] Göllner 1993, 9–10.

[58] Ibid., 4.

[59] Ibid., 6.

[60] Ibid., 6.

[61] For a more detailed account on the motets and motet voices, see ibid., 140–54.

of the motet repertoire nor in a particularly prominent position. Instead, it is found in the middle of a collection of 'liturgical tropes and lessons', mainly set in two-part organal settings.[62] While, in the two-part settings, the scribe underlaid the text only beneath the lower voice, all three voices of the three-part setting of *Deus in adiutorium intende I* were underlaid with the text and only the first stanza was copied.[63] At the top of the page, the scribe provided the rubric: 'The discant here is three-voiced for a three-fold sound' (*triplex est discantus hic est per triplicem sonum*).

As the dedication note to the bishop shows, the compiler of this manuscript was well aware of his or her own limits: 'I, who have undertaken the compilation of this small work, have gathered together as best I could with this rude and simple pen all those works which I found scattered throughout different volumes in your worthy name.'[64] For the majority of more professionally produced anthologies such as **Mo**, dedication notes such as this are unavailable. The motivations of the compilers remain elusive, and we can therefore only speculate as to why specific pieces such as *Deus in adiutorium intende I* and, more characteristically, *Deus in adiutorium intende II* became established as a conventional manner in which to begin a fascicle or a rotulus. As hypothesized above, it is possible that the choice of one of the polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende* at the beginning of a motet collection could have constituted a deliberate reference to the tradition of the clerics' Offices transmitted in the monophonic sources discussed above. This could, in turn, reflect the status and professional background of the manuscript's owner. In at least one case, a clerical owner of a *liber organicus* that opens with *Deus in adiutorium* is known,[65] namely Petrus de Cruce, who bequeathed his music manuscript (now lost) to Amiens Cathedral.[66]

Additionally, the concept of opening pieces highlighting specific fascicles would not have been possible without the characteristic changes in book production associated with thirteenth-century university cities such as Paris and Oxford. As exemplified by the anthologies that collected the so-called Notre-Dame repertoire,

[62] Ibid., 115.

[63] Ibid., 135.

[64] Translation from ibid., 6. For the Latin original, see ibid., 69–70, **MüC**, no foliation. Digital images are online at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00042722/images/index.html?id=00042722&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=7 (accessed 1 September 2017).

[65] Even though it is not entirely clear whether the library entry refers to *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* or to the untroped *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, the more likely choice for a *liber organicus* would have been one of the polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*. As Caldwell recently observed, 'only a few medieval *Deus in adiutorium* tropes of any kind are extant', compared to 'the numerous melodies circulating for the concluding Benedicamus Domino versicle' (Caldwell 2016, 151).

[66] Huglo 1980–1, 52, n. 47; Günther 1988, 112–13. According to Huglo, the entry reads: 'Alter liber organicus notatus qui vocatur Magistri Petre de Cruce; post kalendarium, in prima linea litterae primi folii *Deus in adjutorium*'. On the unclear question of whether Petrus de Cruce the motet composer and Petrus de Cruce of Amiens might have been the same person see Wolinski 1992, 300–1.

new principles of manuscript organization and new ways of structuring became established. By grouping pieces according to genre and number of voices, the manuscripts allowed readers to navigate the different fascicles with ease.[67] Such an obvious and clearly defined mode of manuscript organization bestowed special importance upon the opening pieces of fascicles, which were often equipped with eye-catching miniatures.[68]

As for the Notre-Dame repertoire, two types of opening pieces must be distinguished. On the one hand, there are common opening pieces of fascicles that occur in at least three manuscripts, such as *Salvatoris hodie* and *Fraude ceca desolato* for the conductus fascicles.[69] On the other, there are specific opening pieces that seem to serve a special symbolic function, but which occur only in isolated manuscripts, such as *Porta salutis ave* or *O crux ave spes unica*. While the common, recurring opening pieces might have simply been the first available pieces in the exemplars or, as in the organum repertoire, predetermined by the liturgical year, a specific opening piece may well have been chosen with a particular institution in mind.

I have recently argued that the choice of the conductus *Porta salutis ave* as an opening piece of the eighth fascicle of the St Andrews manuscript $\mathbf{W_1}$ might reflect the epigrammatic function of its text, which is also found on the corporate seal of Arbroath Abbey in the same diocese.[70] As another example, the recently discovered fragments re-used by a bookbinder in Soest in Westphalia present the conductus *O crux ave spes unica* (now back flyleaf, fol.*2r, of MÜu Hs 378) at the beginning of a fascicle, highlighted by a decorated puzzle initial.[71] This prominent position seems to reflect the dedication of the Dominican convent of Soest to the Holy Cross.[72]

$\mathbf{W_2}$ and **F** show corresponding opening pieces in only one of their motet fascicles: a three-part version of *Ad veniam perveniam/TANQUAM* opens the eighth fascicle dedicated to the three-part motets of **F**, and a two-part version is found at the beginning of the first alphabet of the two-part motets in $\mathbf{W_2}$.[73] This correspondence, however, results from two different principles of structuring rather than from the idea of a specific opening piece. While the compilers of the manuscript $\mathbf{W_2}$

[67] This characteristic manuscript organization is described in the treatise of Anonymous IV. See Reckow 1967, 1:82; Yudkin 1985, 73.

[68] Baltzer 1972.

[69] *Fraude ceca desolato* opens the two-part fascicles of **F** (fols 263r–264v) and **Ma** (fols 25r–27v) and in a fragmentary source now in Oxford (Ob Auct. VI. Q.3.17, binding strips in the paper quires of the incunable). *Salvatoris hodie* is found as an opening piece of the fascicles dedicated to the three-part conductus repertoire in $\mathbf{W_2}$ (fascicle 3) and **F** (fascicle 6). Even though its first stanza is three-part, it opens the ninth fascicle dedicated to the two-part conductus repertoire in $\mathbf{W_1}$, fol. 95r (86r). Contrary to this, it does not serve as an opening piece in T 1471, fol. Ar–v; **Ma**, fols 111v–113r; or **LoA**, fols 86v–87v.

[70] Maschke 2013.

[71] For a facsimile, see Maschke 2015b. Online at http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/MC/manuscript_cultures_no_8.pdf (accessed 1 September 2017).

[72] Maschke 2015a, 119–26.

[73] Ludwig (1910) 1964, 102–12 (**F**, second fascicle containing motets) and 182–5 ($\mathbf{W_2}$, first alphabet).

chose the alphabetical order of the upper voice (the motetus), the scribe of the manuscript **F** maintained the order according to the liturgical year that is also found in the organum fascicles. Unlike **F** and $\mathbf{W_2}$, in which the opening pieces of the motet fascicles are of the same genre as the pieces that follow them, later motet collections experiment with new organizational principles. By presenting both settings at the beginning of its first and last fascicle, **Mo** enshrines the status of both settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende* as opening invocations.

## NORTHERN FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES? *DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM INTENDE II* AND ITS REGIONAL ORIGINS

Apart from **Mo** 8, three further sources of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* have survived: two three-part versions from the Walloon region in **Br** and **Tu**, and a four-part version from Cambrai in north-east France (a binding fragment in the incunable B 165, back flyleaf, recto, **Cambrai**).[74] All four sources mostly contain collections of motets, partly in regional languages or dialects such as Flemish (such as a motet found in a bookbinding belonging to the same set of fragments in a different Cambrai incunable, Inc. B 56, back flyleaf, recto) and Walloon (**Tu**).[75] Additionally, all of them display *Deus in adiutorium intende II* in some kind of opening function, most prominently in the rotulus now in Brussels. Accordingly, Irmgard Lerch placed the four-part version of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* at the very beginning of the reconstructed manuscript when she visualized the gathering structure of the Cambrai fragments.[76] Cambrai is also among the places where a Feast of Fools was celebrated.[77] Thus, it is possible that the polyphonic version of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* might evoke the heritage of this opening trope within the liturgical tradition of the Feast of Fools.

Among the manuscripts from the Low Countries, **Tu** deserves particular attention, as it is the only source other than **Mo** to transmit both polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende*. Interestingly, it presents the two settings one after another in an opening section, which will be discussed below. The manuscript once belonged to the collection of the Benedictine Abbey of St Jacques at Liège and was sold at auction in 1788, when the library was dissolved.[78] **Tu** has shared

[74] The Cambrai fragments consist of several flyleaves in various incunables, as well as mirror-image offsets on the wooden boards of their bookbindings, and were discovered by David Fallows (Fallows 1976). See also Lerch 1987 and Günther 1988.

[75] The motet on a Flemish text was identified by Fallows on the back flyleaf of the incunable Inc. B 56 (Fallows 1976, 280). Images are available on DIAMM. On the Walloon dialect of some motets, see Everist 2007, 370–1.

[76] Lerch 1987, 1:12–14 and 162 (gathering structure); see also Günther 1988, 122. Images available on DIAMM.

[77] For a map of places where a Feast of Fools was celebrated, see Harris 2011, xi.

[78] For more details on how the manuscript came to Turin at some point between 1832 and 1846, see Miethke 1974, 512–14. For a facsimile of **Tu**, see Auda 1953. A summary of older literature and controversies as to the provenance is found in Auda 1953, 1:11–12.

concordances with **Mo** 8, as well as with the earlier fascicles of **Mo**,[79] while the younger rotulus **Br** became primarily known for its collection of motets also found in the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* (**Fauv**).[80] Past scholars such as Friedrich Ludwig saw **Tu** as a thirteenth-century manuscript, while more recent research has preferred an early fourteenth-century dating in proximity to **Mo** 8.[81]

If the current hypotheses as to the dating of the manuscripts under discussion here can be held, **Tu** and **Mo** 8 are the oldest sources for *Deus in adiutorium intende II*, followed by the rotulus and, perhaps another generation later, the four-part Cambrai setting of *Deus in adiutorium intende II*. Here, a much faster-moving fourth voice *Deus in se notus erit* was added, being placed in the five staves above the three-part score layout of the opening *Deus in adiutorium* (**Cambrai**, back flyleaf, recto). The closing stanza is an *Alleluya* setting which shares the three lower voices with the first stanza but adds a different *superius*. Finally, a three-part *Amen* was inserted by a later hand.[82]

As for the rotulus, Karl Kügle recently suggested a date between 1334 and 1335, assuming a Malmedy provenance.[83] When dating the Cambrai fragments, Irmgard Lerch drew attention to the youngest motet *Apta caro/Flos virginum/ ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER*.[84] Probably dating to between the 1340s and the 1360s, this motet provides a *terminus post quem* for the compiling of the manuscript, whose leaves were later re-used in several bookbindings.[85] The exact provenance of this music manuscript, as well as its place of re-use, is hard to determine with certainty, but Irmgard Lerch favours the Cathedral of Cambrai over the Abbey of St Sépulcre in the same city.[86]

Along with the chronology of manuscripts, a comparison of their readings of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* complements the picture. As Ursula Günther omits this methodological step when she compares the different editions of both polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende* published between 1865 and 1987, some observations shall be presented here. The rotulus now in Brussels (**Br**) clearly points to an ongoing reception of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* in the Walloon

[79] For a table of concordances see Auda 1953, 1:16.

[80] On the historiographical consequences of this, see Kügle 2008, 145. A list of concordances is provided in ibid., 155–6, Table 1.

[81] For a summary of the controversies around the dating of **Tu**, see Everist 2007, 370–1, n. 16. Everist sees a 'proximity in date' between **Mo** 8, **Tu**, and **Fauv** (ibid., 398).

[82] Lerch 1987, 2:6–11. See also Günther 1988, 122.

[83] Kügle draws a connection to the 'vacancy of the abbatial see after the death of Henricus de Bolan leading up to the election of Winricus de Pomerio' between 1334 and 1335 (Kügle 2008, 151). For a different view see Hoppin 1955.

[84] *Apta caro/Flos virginum/ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER* is found at B 1328, fol. 1v and fol. 3r. The foliation of the set of fragments is modern and does not say anything about the original order of the manuscript (fol. 2 contains the motet *Qui es promesses de Fortune/Hay, Fortune/ET NON EST* by Guillaume de Machaut and comes from a different manuscript). The (hypothetical) foliation in Lerch's reconstructed gathering structure is **Cambrai** (n), fols 10v–11r (Lerch 1987, 1:17, 71–4, and 153). Digital images are available on DIAMM.

[85] Lerch 1987, 1:71–4 and 153.

[86] Ibid., 1:8–10 and 153–8.

region. Richard Hoppin observed that 'the similarities between *Br* and *Tu* extend to such minutiae as the use of bar lines, rather than the rests of *Mo*, to mark the ends of phrases and the repetition of the second syllable of *Deus* (Deus .....us) at the end of the first phrase'.[87]

Apart from the undisputed chronological relationship of the two sources, textual criticism makes it clear that **Br** might have been copied from an exemplar based on **Tu** (or, as Hoppin hypothesized, perhaps from **Tu** itself) but not vice versa. The **Br** scribe added some rhythmic solutions found neither in **Tu** nor in **Mo** 8, indicating, as Hoppin noted, a 'transition from the older metrical rigidities of the Ars Antiqua to the more flexible and more varied rhythmic patterns of the Ars Nova'.[88]

As for the choice of ligatures, the readings of the two older sources (**Tu** and **Mo** 8) agree against **Br** more often than the two sources from the Walloon region (**Tu** and **Br**) agree. Thus, the modernizing solutions chosen by the scribe of the rotulus confirm the tendency that Hoppin observed. Only the second ligature in the motetus, a *ternaria cum opposita proprietate* (SSL), shows a reading that **Tu** and **Br** (as well as **Cambrai**) have in common, while **Mo** 8 presents a *binaria* (BL) and, thus, the less difficult reading. While **Tu** shows the *lectio difficilior* in this case, **Mo** 8 is the only source to use *plicae*.[89] The observed tendencies separate **Mo** 8 from the sources from the Walloon region.

The four-voice version of **Cambrai** does not show the same individual solutions as **Br**. In terms of ligatures, the three lower voices often agree with **Tu** when **Br** does not. Thus, **Cambrai** forms a separate strand of transmission, not showing any particular connection to the **Br** rotulus. As to the transcription of *Deus in adiutorium intende II*, Ursula Günther concludes that the additional *superius* voice helps 'to solve some rhythmical problems',[90] confirming the interpretations given by Friedrich Ludwig and Yvonne Rokseth in their respective editions of *Deus in adiutorium intende II*.[91]

None of the four sources of *Deus II* transmits all of the stanzas. While **Tu** omits *In te Christe credentium* and does not write out the 'Amen amen alleluia' section, **Mo** 8 leaves out *Ut chorus noster psallere*, which is available in **Mo** 1. In turn, **Br** and **Cambrai** only copied the first stanza, the additions in **Cambrai** notwithstanding. As both **Br** and the four-part **Cambrai** version seem to be derived from an exemplar close to **Tu** (or **Tu** itself), and as **Tu** usually (with the exception of the absence of *plicae*) contains the more difficult reading than **Mo** 8, the **Tu** version is here considered as closest to the original. Apart from the *lectio difficilior* mentioned above (which **Tu** shares with **Br** and **Cambrai**), **Tu** is the only source to read the *ternaria* on the penultimate ligature of *adiutorium* in the triplum as *cum opposita proprietate* (SSB), while **Mo** 8, **Br**, and **Cambrai** simply present three *breves* (BBB, *sine perfectione*).

[87] Hoppin 1955, 138.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Rokseth's transcription of *Deus II* is based on **Mo** 8, but also records the variance in **Tu** (reprinted in Günther 1988, 118, example 8).

[90] Günther 1988, 116.

[91] Ibid., 122.

Before taking a closer look at **Tu**'s opening section and the position of the two polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende*, I will make some codicological comments on **Tu** here, as the manuscript in its present state is the result of complex processes of grouping and regrouping of separate codicological units, so that former opening sections have become indistinct. The RISM description, which states that the motet collection originally formed 'the fourth part of the original codex', is misleading.[92] Instead, it seems likely that the motet codex was originally a manuscript of its own.[93] The opening section of the subsequent music manuscript containing both polyphonic settings of *Deus in adiutorium intende* does not have any foliation, and a table of contents following the opening section introduces the motet collection. Later, the motet book was bound together with other manuscripts; this happened during the time when all of these manuscripts formed part of the library of St Jacques in Liège. This composite manuscript had the shelfmarks E. X. 73 and H. 59.[94]

The different parts of the composite manuscript E. X. 73/H. 59 date from the ninth century to the fourteenth,[95] containing items as diverse as Guillelmus de Sarzano's *De potestate Summi Pontificis*,[96] glosses as well as Haimo of Auxerre's commentary on the Song of Songs (*Cantica Canticorum*), Bartolomeo da Breganze's *Sermones de beata Virgine*, and a commentary of Jerome on the Bible.[97] When the library was dissolved and this composite manuscript was sold to the Royal Library of Turin (Biblioteca Reale di Torino), it was again divided into four different manuscripts, now preserved as Vari 45, 43, 44, and, of most interest here, Vari 42 (= **Tu**).[98] Since then, the motet book has formed part of a composite manuscript with the commentary of Jerome on the Bible, which now opens **Tu**.[99] As stated above, however, it seems likely that the motet collection originally formed a manuscript of its own.

The introductory section of the motet collection consists of three conductus settings that are connected to one another by way of textual or musical interrelationships. The first composition of this opening section, the three-voice unicum *Parce virgo spes reorum*,[100] shares the first four sonorities of its opening melisma with the

[92] Reaney 1966, 801.

[93] I have not seen the original manuscripts. The former composite manuscript E. X. 73 and its different chronological layers, of which the motet collection was once the fourth part, merits more detailed investigation.

[94] These former shelfmarks are now found in the separate manuscript Vari 45 (Miethke 1974, 511, n. 13; Auda 1953, 1:12–13). According to Miethke 1974, the call number is E. X. 73, while Auda 1953 provides the call number E. 73 because the manuscript appears in Bouxhon's 1667 catalogue of the Abbey of St Jacques as Item E 73. On the library of St Jacques, see Denoël 1971.

[95] Miethke 1974, 513, n. 21.

[96] For a detailed account and further bibliography on Sarzano's *De potestate Summi Pontificis*, see Miethke 1974.

[97] Ibid., 513, n. 20. See also Auda 1953, 1:12–13.

[98] On the original order, see Miethke 1974, 513, n. 21. See also Auda 1953, 1:12–13.

[99] Miethke 1974, 513, n. 20. See also Auda 1953, 1:12–13.

[100] No further music sources for the three-part conductus setting *Parce virgo spes reorum*

second composition, the melismatic newly composed setting of *Deus in adiutorium intende II*. This composition, in turn, shares its text with *Deus in adiutorium intende I*, the widely transmitted polyphonic treatment of the monophonic trope discussed above, which forms the third composition in the introductory section.

In terms of transmission and dissemination, this group of compositions is idiosyncratic: the three-voice Marian conductus *Parce virgo spes reorum* is found alongside two more widely transmitted compositions on *Deus in adiutorium intende*. Owing to the shared common formula at the beginning of both works, it could be the case that either *Deus in adiutorium intende II* was the basis for *Parce virgo spes reorum*, or vice versa. Given the wider transmission of *Deus in adiutorium intende II*, it seems likely that this setting might have existed first.

If we consider the St Jacques provenance (and, possibly, also origin) of **Tu**, the simplest conclusion would be that *Parce virgo spes reorum* was composed for the Benedictine Abbey of St Jacques at Liège itself, which flourished in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Considering **Tu**'s more difficult readings and the hypothesis that it might have been closest to the original discussed above, it is not impossible that *Deus in adiutorium intende II* might have originated in the same inspiring environment. As for the development of new liturgical compositions, the historic context seems to have been a favourable one, in terms both of manuscript production and of musically talented people active in this abbey.

According to Judith Oliver, the Abbey of St Jacques started to recover from years of decline when Guillaume de Julémont was abbot (1283–1301):

> The reign of Guillaume de Julemont [*sic*] saw the acquisition of manuscripts from friends of the abbey, a return to keeping library records, and the revival of activity in the scriptorium. Manuscripts were acquired in considerable numbers from friends of the abbots, the most distinguished of whom was the theologian Godefroid de Fontaines who died c. 1306.[101]

Furthermore, his abbey attracted 'a devout and talented cantor from near-by Tongres',[102] whose name is mentioned in a manuscript of liégeois provenance now in Darmstadt (DS 2777), which also transmits various conductus poems attributed to Philip the Chancellor or Walter of Châtillon.[103] According to a marginal note in the bottom of fol. 2r, this cantor, Simon from Tongres, 'was ordained a priest'

have been discovered to date. A completely different two-part setting of the text is found in the printed editions of the *Piae Cantiones*, a collection of Latin medieval songs from Finland printed in Greifswald in 1582 and reprinted in an expanded version in Rostock in 1625. As the medieval texts had to be adapted to the new ideals of the Protestant Reformation, the Marian devotional text (number 43 of the 1582 edition) is found here in a variant form, namely *Parce Christe spes reorum*. One of its voices (the *prima vox*) is also transmitted in the 1625 edition (number 58), whereas number 35 of the 1625 edition is another different monophonic setting of the same text. See Mäkinen 1967, 392–3.

[101] Oliver 1978, 324. For more on the Abbey of St Jacques in the early fourteenth century, see Desmond 2009, 46–54.

[102] Oliver 1978, 336.

[103] For a manuscript description of DS 2777, see Staub and Knaus 1979, 270–7.

in 1296.[104] In this climate of a flourishing abbey with a highly qualified cantor, the development of new settings for a revised liturgy seems probable, and *Parce virgo spes reorum* (as well as *Deus in adiutorium intende II*) could easily have been among them. The collection of motets following the opening section also points to an origin in this region, since, as Mark Everist has written, the dialect of the poetry in **Tu** argues for a Walloon, and possibly even a liégeois, origin.[105]

In dealing extensively with the reception of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* in the Low Countries here, I follow Karl Kügle's recommendation in beginning to 'open up a new perspective on a region of late medieval Europe that, while clearly no backwater, so far escaped integration into the historiographic master narrative of 13th- and 14th- century European music to the full degree it deserves'.[106]

## CONCLUSION

THIS article has outlined the different strands of transmission of the monophonic trope *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* and its two polyphonic settings, both of them three-part, with the addition of a fourth voice to *Deus in adiutorium intende II* in the Cambrai fragments. In its characteristic opening position, the monophonic trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* is found in manuscripts transmitting clerics' Offices from France and, following a different melodic tradition, Switzerland. I have proposed that the polyphonic versions of *Deus in adiutorium intende*, based on this trope, might have originated in the same tradition of the clerics' Offices after Christmas.

Whereas the function of the monophonic trope *Deus in adiutorium intende* in the context of the clerics' Offices was clearly an opening one, the layout of the oldest manuscripts transmitting the trope does not, however, make this visible at first sight. The trope does not begin a new page, for instance, nor is it highlighted by a decorated initial. In stark contrast, early fourteenth-century motet collections exploited structural changes in manuscript organization, equipping their opening pieces with decorated initials in different degrees of sophistication.

Even though the second three-part setting, *Deus in adiutorium intende II*, does not show any connection to the older trope melody, it retains its opening function. A historiated initial such as that which opens **Mo** 8, with clerics singing from a codex, is not uncommon. It is also found, for instance, at the beginning of the third, sixth, and eighth fascicles of the manuscript $\mathbf{W}_2$ (fol. 31r, fol. 92r, and – with a single singer – fol. 145r).[107] Nevertheless it remains possible that the image of the singing clerics presented within the decorated 'D' initials of *Deus in adiutorium* in both **Mo** 8 and **Mo** 1 was deliberately chosen to invoke the heritage of this opening

[104] Oliver 1978, 325–6.

[105] Everist 2007, 371. The two concordances with **Mo** 8 are listed in Auda 1953, 1:16.

[106] Kügle 2008, 152. Wegman 2016, on Jacques de Liège, sheds further light on the region around Liège (I would like to thank Rob C. Wegman for sharing this article with me prior to publication).

[107] For a discussion and various examples of these initials with singing clerics see Chapter 3 in this volume by Alison Stones.

trope within the flexible liturgical format of the clerics' Offices established during the twelfth century.

## APPENDIX: LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

| | |
|---|---|
| BnF lat. 1139 | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1139 |
| BnF lat. 1351 | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1351 |
| DS 2777 | Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 2777 |
| Dtc | Dublin, Trinity College, 1441 (formerly E.4.2) |
| Duc | Dublin, University College, Franciscan A 2 |
| EN Cod. 102 | Engelberg, Benediktinerkloster, Musikbibliothek, Cod. 102 |
| Fcu L 40 | Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire (Freiburg, Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek), L 40 |
| Fk (in Fu) Z4 (56) | Fribourg, Fraternité des Capucins (Freiburg, Kapuzinerkloster), Z4 (56) (now part of Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire (Freiburg, Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek)) |
| Fsn CSN III.3.1 | Fribourg, Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Archives du Chapitre St. Nicolas (Freiburg, Staatsarchiv Freiburg, Kapitelsarchiv St. Niklaus), CSN III.3.1 |
| Fsn CSN III.3.2 | Fribourg, Archives de l'État de Fribourg, Archives du Chapitre St. Nicolas (Freiburg, Staatsarchiv Freiburg, Kapitelsarchiv St. Niklaus), CSN III.3.2 |
| G 4413 | Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 4413 |
| Inc. B 56 | Cambrai, Médiathèque d'agglomération (formerly Bibliothèque municipale), Inc. B 56 |
| LA 263 | Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 263 |
| Lbl Stowe 17 | London, British Library, Stowe 17 |
| LP 152 (Fonds Cortial) | Le Puy-en-Velay, Bibliothèque municipal, Fonds Cortial, 152 |
| LPsem A V 7 009 | Le Puy-en-Velay, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, A V 7 009 |
| MÜu Hs 378 | Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 378 |
| Ob Auct. VI. Q.3.17 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI. Q.3.17 |
| PR 13 (11) | Provins, Bibliothèque municipale Alain Peyrefitte, 13 |

| | |
|---|---|
| SEm 46 | Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, 46 |
| Sk, no call number | Sion, Archives du chapitre de la Cathédrale (Sitten, Kapitel-Archiv), no call number, catalogue number 1, 'Supersaxo breviary' |
| Sk Ms. 47 | Sion, Archives du chapitre de la Cathédrale (Sitten, Kapitel-Archiv), 47 |
| Sk Ms. 74 | Sion, Archives du chapitre de la Cathédrale (Sitten, Kapitel-Archiv), 74 |
| Sl HB I Asc. 95 | Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95 |
| T 1471 | Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1471 |
| TOm 1299 | Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 1299 (lost) |

CHAPTER 7

# Thematic Clusters and Compilational Strategies in Montpellier 8

ANNA KATHRYN GRAU

As the largest surviving manuscript of medieval motets, **Mo** has attracted lively scholarly discussion, including intense studies of dating, codicology, and large-scale organization.[1] Among the least controversial elements of the manuscript's structure is the generic organization of the so-called old corpus motets of **Mo**, found in fascicles 2–6. The motets in these sections seem to have been copied around the same time, and are arranged based on the number of voices and language: fascicles are devoted to triple motets, bilingual double motets, Latin double motets, French double motets, and French monotextual motets. This generic scheme is conspicuously lacking in the seventh and eighth fascicles: while the motets in these later sections are primarily French double motets, a number of Latin and bilingual motets appear among them. Furthermore, no fascicle of the codex easily yields evidence of internal organization – unlike in many contemporary motet collections and *chansonniers*, there is no generic, alphabetical, authorial, or liturgical pattern within each fascicle.

**Mo** also does not bear out any of the other, less obvious schemes recently uncovered in other seemingly unordered manuscripts. These alternate principles are often obscured by the interaction of multiple schemes. Catherine A. Bradley argues that the ordering of the second motet fascicle of **F** may relate to the presence of related clausulae and motets in **F** and other sources, or to the popularity of the motets. Katarzyna Grochowska's study of the Stary Saçz manuscript suggests that modal organization in the manner of a tonary could be applied to polyphonic works alongside liturgical ordering.[2] But no such scheme applies to the organization of the large repertory of motets in **Mo**. Perhaps because the generic organization by fascicle is so clear, there has been little consideration of the precise selection and ordering of the motets within the larger fascicle groupings of the older corpus.[3] The only organizational plans that have, to my knowledge, been suggested, are those of 'relative popularity' or chronological *summa* of the genre; such

[1] See especially Rokseth 1935–9; Everist 1985; Wolinski 1992; Parsoneault 2001.

[2] Bradley 2013; Grochowska 2013.

[3] For a rare reading of individual works from the codex in relation to one another, 'experienced in the real time of the manuscript', see Dillon 2012b, 305–14, discussed in more detail below.

organization has been suggested by Edward Roesner and Emma Dillon respectively.[4] Even these loose schemes have not been proposed in relation to the final two fascicles; explanations for the ordering of the eighth fascicle in particular can rely little on the metric of relative popularity, as nearly all of the motets are unica.[5] With few concordances to provide clues to popularity or transmission, **Mo** 8 presents a particularly complex case for the consideration of organizational and compilational strategies in motet collections.

Despite the relative obscurity of **Mo**'s organizational principles, the reader encountering its motets in sequence does not always sense randomness: one motet often seems to betray a link – thematic, linguistic, or musical – to the next. At times, small clusters emerge: five motets which recall or cite the works of Ovid, a pair that give voice to female characters or that employ the same tenor, a series with similar incipits.[6] These thematic and stylistic 'clusters' appear throughout the codex, in both the older corpus and the later additions. Such groupings are not consistent enough to indicate a coherent organizational scheme, but they may still reveal something about the compilational procedures of the manuscript's creators, and about its exemplars, the organization of which may be reflected and maintained by these 'clusters'.

Many of the schemes suggested for more opaque manuscripts, such as the second motet fascicle of **F**, could have implications for our understanding of the exemplars employed by the manuscripts' compilers. Suggestions by Bradley and Roesner that 'relative popularity' or extent of dissemination are reflected in the organization of **F** and the old corpus of **Mo** could suggest that the widespread use or availability of exemplar texts led some manuscripts to begin with 'popular' motets. The intersection of multiple schemes, such as liturgical and modal, also suggests a relationship between the organizational scheme prioritized by the new compilers and that found in the exemplar they used, emerging when it does not contradict the primary plan. The importance of exemplars to the ordering of motet manuscripts has been raised more explicitly, if still peripherally, by Mary

[4] Roesner 1996; Dillon 2012b, 296–301. Such claims may be based on the fact that the motets near the ends of fascicles 5 and 7 have fewer concordances than those earlier in the fascicles.

[5] Twelve of the forty-three works exist in other sources (including the *Deus in adiutorium* conductus); three other motets appear elsewhere in **Mo**. The rarity of **Mo** 8 motets in comparison to those in fascicles 1–7 may suggest that the overall grouping of the motets into fascicles was related to popularity, with the final fascicle reserved for the less popular repertory. However, it does little to explain the grouping of motets within the fascicle: the motets with concordances do not appear together.

[6] On a pair of female-voice works, see Peraino 2011, 219–22. My 2013 contribution to the *Cantum pulchriorum inveniere* conference in Southampton explored one such grouping of works in **Mo** (**Mo** 2,28–32) related to Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (Grau 2013). For a discussion of 'thematic groupings' in fabliaux, see Busby and Kleinhenz 2015, 222–4. Browsing through the contents of the codex suggests that further clusters remain to be examined: **Mo** 5,74 and 5,75 are *pastourelle* motets about Robin and Marot with prominent refrains, and 5,75 reappears later in the fascicle (5,147), paired with a second motet on the tenor *APTATUR*. In fascicle 6, **Mo** 6,227–31 are all of the type often called *motets entés*, and three of the five end with a form of the verb *garir*.

E. Wolinski, who suggests the possibility that exemplars arranged by tenor might explain some of the scribal errors in **Mo**, as they may reveal confusion of multiple related tenors that may have appeared side by side in the exemplar being copied.[7] In a recent chapter on the La Clayette manuscript, Sean Curran proposes a direction for new research into clusters of motets united not by themes or associations but because they appear in the same order in multiple manuscripts, a relationship that may tell us something about the exemplars on which the manuscripts depend.[8]

In this essay I propose that clusters of closely connected motets allow us to make inferences about their exemplars, even when we have no direct concordances for these motets. The emergence of thematic, linguistic, and stylistic groups through careful contextual reading allows us to identify the commonalities and strategies that led smaller groups of motets to circulate together, and to speculate about the use of smaller booklets, possibly for devotion or performance as well as transmission, that must have served as exemplars for large collections like **Mo**.[9] Approaching one cluster of motets from the eighth fascicle in sequence and in their material context opens a window onto the potential uses and audiences of both this lavish codex and its lost exemplars. While we cannot be sure to what extent scribes maintained the organization of their sources, in cases such as **Mo** 8, in which there are no obvious organizing features that would force a scribe to dismantle the organization of his exemplar, we may look for glimpses of these lost manuscripts and their organization. Among the motets of fascicle 8, a group emerges that betrays concern with liturgical content and internal organization within the cluster. From this group, I believe we can infer the existence of at least one thematically unified and carefully ordered exemplar collection that perhaps circulated in the form of a small booklet intended for devotional or paraliturgical use.

## REPETITION AND COMPILATION

NEAR the end of the eighth fascicle, the reader of **Mo** turns from a series of several French double motets to *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* (**Mo** 8,338, fols 390r–391v). This bilingual motet, which combines praise of the Virgin with an amorous text, also appears, with minor variations, in fascicle 7 (**Mo** 7,289, fols 326r–327v), some sixty-four folios before its appearance in fascicle 8. Such repetition may be dismissed as erroneous or unknowing: a result of a chronological gap in copying the two fascicles. However, I wish to entertain the possible significance of the repetition of a motet later in the same manuscript as a clue to the compilational strategy of the book, and perhaps a guide to the reader's experience of this section of the manuscript.

The repetition of the motet in fascicle 8 is not easily dismissed as a common scribal error. According to Hans Tischler's introduction to the *Montpellier*

[7] Wolinski 1992, 52.

[8] Curran 2015, 204, n. 30.

[9] On medieval manuscript 'booklets', see Robinson 1980 and Hanna 1986.

*Codex* edition, only six motets appear in **Mo** twice in the same form – with the same number of voices and the same texts.[10] This kind of repetition is thus relatively rare, though not unheard of. There are also clues that the repetition of *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,289/8,338) may have been the result of some forethought: in the bottom margin of fol. 390r in **Mo** 8, unruled and outside the textblock, someone appears to have written, and later erased, the opening of the triplum text. This may indicate that the scribe chose this motet for placement at this point in the manuscript and included the text incipit as instructions to that effect, just as marginal directions often survive for later additions of illuminations or rubrics. Perhaps the compiler needed to return to the manuscript after locating a new exemplar that was not immediately at hand.[11] This small sign from a medieval hand suggests that the duplication was not a casual mistake but that it was a considered choice, and that it did not pose a problem for the compiler.

If we accept that scribes may intentionally repeat material, the duplication of poems or songs may have something to tell us about the compilational approach or purpose of the compiler. Michel-André Bossy and Nancy Jones observed this kind of strategy in relation to the troubadour manuscript, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 819, in which five songs by William of Aquitaine are repeated. They argue that this striking repetition is not an error, but that the parallel sections form a triptych enclosing a set of female voice songs with which they may be seen to carry on a playful dialogue.[12]

When **Mo** 7,289 is redeployed as **Mo** 8,338, its repetition seems to signal a transition from the courtly concerns of the motets immediately preceding it to the devotional turn of a new cluster of unusual motets concerned with the season surrounding Epiphany and Mary's role as Mother. The group of six motets listed in Table 7.1 reveals not only a topical 'clustering' but also a chiastic arrangement that may repeat the arrangement of a multi-motet exemplar.

## MEDIEVAL HERMENEUTICS AND AN EPIPHANY CLUSTER

At the core of this symmetrical group of six motets are the unusual motets *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM* (**Mo** 8,340, fols 392v–393v) and *Huic ut placuit/Huic ut placuit/[HUIC MAGI]* (**Mo** 8,341, fols 393v–394v). Little argument needs to be made for considering these two as part of a unit. The two are stylistically similar double motets with a single text shared between the two

[10] The majority of these repetitions occur within fascicle 5: **Mo** 5,126/100, 5,144/77, 5,147/75, and 5,151/121. The pair **Mo** 7,266/5,177 involves fascicle 7 and the appendix to fascicle 5. Two further pairs (**Mo** 5,145/2,22 and 8,345/2,20) include repetitions of a motet with fewer voices. Because the repertory of **Mo** 8 is largely unique, this repetition is particularly noteworthy. See Tischler 1978, I:xxxv.

[11] One reason for the inclusion of this motet at this point might have been the *mise en page*: a Petronian motet like **Mo** 8,338 could take advantage of the extra staff available for the triplum at the end of **Mo** 8,337.

[12] Bossy and Jones 1996, 261–80.

Table 7.1 Motet cluster in **Mo** 8

| ***Mo*** *number* | *Incipits* | *Concordances* | *Tenor Source* | *Liturgical Associations* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Mo** 8,338 | *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* | **Mo** 7,289 | O 19. *Solem. Cernere divinum* (respond incipit) | Nativity of Mary, other Marian feasts |
| **Mo** 8,339 | *Alle psallite/Alle psallite/ ALLELUYA* | **Worc** frag. xxviii, fol. 4v; frag. xxxv, fols 3v, 1r; **ORawl**, pp. 1–2 (all contrafacts) | M 78a. Alleluia (verse unknown) | Unknown, possibly Epiphany or Assumption |
| **Mo** 8,340 | *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM* | None | M 81. Epiphany sequence (versicle 4a) | Epiphany |
| **Mo** 8,341 | *Huic ut placuit/Huic ut placuit/[HUIC MAGI]* | None | M 81. Epiphany sequence (versicle 5a) | Epiphany |
| **Mo** 8,342 | *Qui d'amours/Tant me plaist/VIRGA YESSE* | None | M 78. *Alleluia. Virga Jesse* (verse incipit) | Common of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation |
| **Mo** 8,343 | *Virginis eximie/N[o]stra salus/CERNERE* | None | O 19. *Solem. Cernere divinum* (verse incipit) | Nativity of Mary, other Marian feasts |

upper voices, which exchange melody and text. Both also employ tenors with four-cursus structures. The tenors are drawn from consecutive parts of the widespread sequence for Epiphany, *Epiphanium Domino*; they form the incipits of two sections of the central verse. Such tenors are rather unusual: sequence chants are rarely used as sources for tenors in the Notre-Dame repertory, although the *BALLAAM* (or more correctly, *BALAAM*) tenor seems to have been a rare exception in the early motet repertory.[13] A number of scholars have even suggested that the two fascicle 8 motets are essentially two parts of a single motet: they begin and end with identical sonorities, allowing for seamless sequential

[13] Motets on *BALAAM* include: *Hare hare* [590]/*Balaam* [591]/*BALAAM* (**W**$_2$, fol. 197v; **N**, fol. 180; **Bes**, no. 33); its contrafactum *Balaam prophetandi* [592]/ *BALAAM* (**LoC**, fol. 6v); and *Li douz termines* [593]/*BALAAM* (**Mo** 6,213, fol. 249v; **N**, fol. 180v; **R**, fol. 205v). The tenor *HUIC MAGI*, however, does not appear in any other contexts. Two other tenors are also derived from this sequence and appear in one motet each. Other sequences used for motet tenors include *Victimae pascali laudes* (M 82), *Mane prima* (M 83), *Ave verum* (M 84), and *Inviolata integra* (M 85).

performance.[14] The possibility of conflating the two motets is even more strongly indicated by their presentation in **Mo**: the second tenor is not labelled with a textual incipit, and thus is not set apart visually by an ornamented initial. In fact, the beginning of the second motet does not even begin on a new clef or staff: the first half of the staff on fol. 393v includes the conclusion of the *BALLAAM* tenor, set apart from the beginning of the *HUIC MAGI* tenor by only a small space and double barline. A second hand has added the indications '*istud ter*' and '*ter*' to indicate the new material and its threefold repetition.

The *Epiphaniam Domino* sequence recounts various episodes important to the story of Epiphany, many of them also central to medieval theatrical performances of the season.[15] The central verse, from which the tenors are taken, recounts the prophecy of Balaam from Numbers 24:17, which predicts that 'A star shall rise out of Jacob and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel' (*orietur stella ex Iacob et consurget virga de Israhel*). The sequence then describes the arrival of the Magi at the cradle of Jesus:

> Balaam prophesied of him: from Jacob there shall go forth a bright star
> And with great power he will break the armies of the leaders of Moab.
> These magi will bring him great gifts: gold, frankincense and myrrh.
> By the frankincense they proclaim him to be God, by the gold the great king,
> by the myrrh a mortal man.
>
> *Balaam de quo vaticinans exibit ex Iacob rutilans, inquit, stella*
> *Et confringet ducum agmina regionis Moab maxima potentia.*
> *Huic magi munera deferunt praeclara: aurum simul tus et myrrham*
> *Thure Deum praedicant, auro regem magnum, hominem mortalem myrrha.*[16]

The two tenors draw on precisely the words needed to evoke the scenes and figures crucial to the liturgical and dramatic celebration of the season – the name 'Balaam' and 'these Magi' (*Huic magi*). The upper texts of the motets elaborate on the themes in simple terms, paraphrasing the relevant lines from the sequence.[17]

[14] Leach 2011 suggests that this performance is indicated by the presentation of the motets in the fragments **Onc**. Note that the list of pieces with outside concordances in Wolinski 1992, 289, does not include the pieces in **Onc** because they are fragmentary. These motets also make up the most stable part of a set of motets considered similar by Besseler and Stenzl, most of which include an initial and/or a terminal melisma (Stenzl 1970). The inclusion of only a terminal melisma in the *HUIC MAGI* motet again suggests that it could be logically interpreted as the second half of the *BALLAAM* motet. Some modern performers have similarly interpreted the motets as a single unit, recording them as a single track, for example La Reverdie, *Nox Lux*, audio CD (Arcana, 2009).

[15] The seasons of Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany were often the occasion for the performance of the play types the *Ordo Prophetarum* and *Ordo Stellae* – plays that dramatized a procession of prophets foretelling the birth of Christ (most prominently Balaam), and the Visitation of the Magi. See Kretzmann 1916.

[16] Blume and Bannister 1911, no. 28.

[17] Texts and translations from Stakel and Relihan 1985, 340–1.

**Mo** 8,340 triplum
*Balam inquit vaticinans:*
*Iam de Jacob nova micans,*
*Orbi lumen inchoans,*
*Rutilans exibit stella*

**Mo** 8,340 motetus
*Balam inquit vaticinans:*
*Iam de Jacob nova minas,*
*Orbi lumen inchoans,*
*exibit stella*

Balaam said in prophecy: 'Now from Jacob will come a new star shining, creating light for the world (glowing)'.

**Mo** 8,340 tenor
*BALLAAM*

**Mo** 8,341 triplum & motetus
*Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica*
*Virtute triplici portabant munera,*
*Ipsum mirifice regem dicentia*
*Deum et hominem mira potentia.*

As pleased Him, three magi were carrying mystic gifts with threefold power, gifts which proclaimed that He miraculously was King, God and Man in awesome power.

**Mo** 8,341 Tenor
[*HUIC MAGI*]

The combination of these images, in the sequence and the motets, draws attention to the typology that interprets the prophecy of the arrival of the star of Jacob as referring both to the birth of Christ and to the star that guided the Magi to Jesus. The two motets form a clear pair, and are unusually explicit in their relationship to the liturgical and theological context of their tenor source. They also suggest a relationship to paraliturgical celebrations such as plays associated with Christmas and Epiphany through their focus on characters central to these depictions.

Preceding this unique motet pair is the well-known *Alle psallite/Alle psallite/ ALLELUYA* (**Mo** 8,339). This motet, also unusual in its style, has been connected with the *BALLAAM* and *HUIC MAGI* motets by Jürg Stenzl and others, often with the suggestion that they share an English origin. The *ALLELUYA* motet shares with **Mo** 8,340–1 the use of extensive phrasal voice-exchange, long melismas, and the employment of a single tropic upper text sung in only one voice at a time.[18] The

[18] A number of scholars have proposed stylistic groupings of motets like these; Heinrich Besseler and Jurg Stenzl suggest slightly different sets of pieces, and propose English origins for the works. In the current essay, I do not attempt to resolve this issue, but instead explore the possibility that these motets form the core of a different group, based more on liturgical connections than musical style. Whether some or all of the pieces concerned are of English origin is not of critical interest for this argument. For discussion of a possible 'English' group, see Besseler 1926–7, 180–1; Stenzl 1970, 132–3. Elizabeth Eva Leach summarizes much of the scholarship on the 'Englishness' of these motets, and challenges this long-standing

source of the *ALLELUYA* tenor is unknown, and because the troping upper voice text relates only to the Alleluia section of the chant (with no indication of its verse), it is potentially relevant to any feast outside the penitential seasons. While Jacques Handschin proposes connections between this tenor and Marian liturgy, Elizabeth Boos has suggested that the tenor is a melodic trope on a common first-mode cadence formula, found for example in the Magnificat antiphons for Christmas and Epiphany. She argues that the upper voices derive from the melody of another antiphon for Epiphany, *Psallite Deo nostro*, troped with melodic and textual material that enact the new text, combining *psallite* with *alleluia*.[19] The liturgical origins of this motet and its tenor are thus far from clear, apart from its associations with the text *alleluia*. However, the potential Marian and Epiphany associations need not be contradictory: the text of the Marian *Alleluia. Post partum* chant emphasizes the role of Mary in the Incarnation of Christ, and her inviolate nature. Thematically, if not liturgically, this is compatible with a Marian approach to the celebration of Epiphany.[20]

On the other side of the pair of Epiphany motets is a work that at first glance disrupts the stylistic, linguistic, and thematic unity of our cluster. *Qui d'amours/Tant me plaist/VIRGA YESSE* (**Mo** 8,342) is based on an Alleluia verse associated with a number of Marian feasts, including the Assumption and Conception of Mary. This motet is clearly different from the preceding three. It is a French-texted motet, with courtly upper voices. The two upper voices do not exchange musical and textual material, and, although they have similar ranges and some motivic repetition within individual voices, there is no repetition in the tenor or use of initial and terminal melismas. This motet is stylistically more similar to the old corpus motets, with two upper voices fairly equal in range and rhythmic profile.

But the liturgical associations of this French motet may connect it to our emerging group. While **Mo** only includes the tenor indication *Virga yesse*, the tenor's melody is associated with a longer passage of the Alleluia verse: 'the rod of Jesse has blossomed, a Virgin God' (*Virga Jesse floruit virgo deum*). Like the *ALLELUYA* tenor, the tenor *VIRGA YESSE* is unique to this motet, but it is closely related textually to the

identification: Leach 2011, 11–12. Tischler sets aside a much larger group of works as 'united by certain style characteristics rarely found elsewhere' and suggests that they are connected to 'an Anglo-Norman circle of composers'. He includes the three motets here, as well as twenty-seven others from fascicles 7 and 8; the group he proposes is much more heterogeneous than those suggested by Besseler and Stenzl, but the motets are primarily Latin, second or third mode works with frequent hocketing, as well as, in some cases, long melismas, voice-exchange, and related texts. Tischler 1978, I:xxx–xxxi.

[19] Boos 1971. Jacques Handschin earlier suggested that the tenor is a paraphrase of the *Alleluia. Post partum*, a Marian contrafactum that is associated with a motet on the *Alleluia. Post partum* tenor in the Worcester fragments. In his reading, the related motet *Ave magnifica Maria* (found in the Worcester fragments) includes a continuation; based on the assonance in the extant upper text, he suggests that the tenor went on to include part of the Alleluia verse. This motet is also followed by another thematically linked motet on *Post partum virgo inviolata*. Handschin 1951, 67–8.

[20] The possible functions for the motet also remain uncertain; Boos concludes that it could have been used as an alternative or postlude to the Epiphany antiphon. Boos 1971, 97–8.

*Stirps Jesse* responsory, a popular source for a wide range of motet tenors throughout the thirteenth century. Both texts meditate upon the role of Mary as 'rod of Jesse' and her place in Christ's genealogy.[21] The plainchant *Alleluia. Virga Jesse* was used as a common chant for Masses for the Virgin, particularly the Annunciation, and thus is not liturgically appropriate to Christmas or Epiphany. However, the emphasis of the text on Mary's role in the Incarnation, and its allusion to Old Testament prophecy, connects the devotional content of this motet to the Epiphany group it follows. The key text of Balaam's prophecy – 'A star shall rise out of Jacob and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel' (*orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israhel*) – is not represented exactly in the Alleluia verse, but the verse clearly recalls the prophecy, along with that of Isaiah. In a paraliturgical or meditative setting, then, this motet too could be appropriate to the season of Christmas and Epiphany.

The four motets discussed so far are flanked by two further motets that also seem to belong to this group. The first is the repeated motet with which we began; the repetition of this motet from fascicle 7 signals the start of the grouping. *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,289/8,338), stylistically associated with Petrus de Cruce, combines a quick courtly French text in the triplum, against a slower-moving motetus with a tropic Latin text. The *SOLEM* tenor appears in a few other polyphonic contexts, including two other motets in **Mo** (**Mo** 7,275 and **Mo** 8,332).[22] The source is a chant responsory composed by Fulbert of Chartres for the Nativity of Mary and used for a variety of Marian feasts.[23] The theme of both the chant and the tropic motetus is the image of the virgin as 'star of the sea' (*stella maris*) and as the one who is 'about to bear' (*paritura*) the Messiah. Christ, too, is associated with light imagery as 'sun of justice' (*solem justicie*), a phrase drawn from the prophecy of Malachi (4:2). The language of the responsory further recalls Balaam's prophecy and Mary's role in the Incarnation, and thus resonates with both the *Virga Jesse* chant and the events of Epiphany.

The multivalent nature of the responsory text is emphasized by the phrase *processit ad ortum*, translated by Margot Fassler as 'processes to her rising' in the translation below. This reading suggests an association with the Assumption, for which the chant was, in fact, adapted. However, the phrase could also mean 'processes to the birth' – her own birth in the original context of the feast of her Nativity, or perhaps the birth of the child she is 'about to bear' (*paritura*). While the *SOLEM*

[21] Rebecca Baltzer notes that many of the texts associated with the Assumption, including this Alleluia 'return again and again to what seems a Christmas theme, the theme of the Incarnation'. This also recalls the older Marian feast 'Mary as Mother of God', originally celebrated in early January. Baltzer 1990, 8. For discussion of the emergence of the *Stirps Jesse* motif, see Fassler 2000, 405; Dobby 2012, 77–106.

[22] See Chapter 14 in this volume by Margaret Dobby, pp. 254–68. The responsory *Solem. Cernere divinum* (O 19) is used in a two-voice organum and clausula in **F**, in a three-voice fragment in Basel Universitäts Bibliothek Fragmentensammlung, F X 37, and in two motets from other parts of **Mo**, but none of these are direct concordances with the motets in the fascicle 8 cluster. Of the remaining tenors in this cluster, none have any presence in the Notre-Dame repertory.

[23] BnF lat. 15181, fols 380v–381r; Cantus database, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/411370 (accessed 5 September 2017). ID number – 007677. On the function of the responsory in the Nativity of the Virgin liturgy of Fulbert of Chartres, see Fassler 2010, 126–7.

tenor is not unique, it seems especially suited here to open a series of motets that draw on music and imagery of Christmas and Epiphany, and in particular on the role of the Virgin in these events:

℟ *Solem justitiae regem paritura supremum, stella maria maris hodie processit ad ortum.*
℣ *Cernere divinum lumen gaudete fideles.*

℟ Today the star of the sea, she who will bear the sun of justice, the supreme king, processes to her rising/*birth*.
℣ Rejoice, faithful people, to see the holy light.[24]

This series of motets is completed by one further work that shares many of the theological concerns discussed so far: *Virginis eximie/N[o]stra salus/CERNERE* (**Mo** 8,343).[25] The tenor used here does not appear in any other motets or organa and is drawn from the same responsory that supplied the *SOLEM* tenor. While only the text *Cernere* was copied by the Montpellier scribe, the melodic content of the motet tenor matches the pitches for the entire chant verse: 'Rejoice, faithful people, to see the holy light' (*Cernere divinum lumen gaudete fideles*). The music thus corresponds to an unusually complete phrase, one that encourages contemplation of the imagery of divine light, as well as celebration. The emphasis of the entire *Solem justicie. Cernere divinum* responsory on the images of Mary as star and Christ as sun provides a further point of resonance with the Epiphany sequence, which combines the light (*lumen*) of Mary as star (*stella*) with the image of the star of Bethlehem as guide to the Magi and obstruction to Herod's plans.

A third pair thus appears to be formed by the *SOLEM* and *CERNERE* motets, and, considering the unique *CERNERE* tenor, the latter may even have been created as a complement to an existing *SOLEM* motet. The *Solem justicie* chant, a mode 1 responsory, begins on *D*, and the **Mo** 7,289/8,338 motet includes a number of prominent internal cadences on *D*. However, this *SOLEM* tenor includes only the melismatic opening gesture of the chant, interrupting the chant's arrival at the mode 1 final on *D* and instead resulting in a final for the motet on *C*. The *CERNERE* tenor employs the entire verse phrase, and thus achieves and extends the chant's final of *D*. Considered as a pair, then, they begin and end on the chant's final of *D*, creating a more tonally coherent whole.[26]

[24] Text and translation of responsory from Fassler 2010, 414. The alternative offered in italics is my own.

[25] This motet is included by Stenzl among his group of motets that include the *ALLELUYA*, *BALLAAM*, and *HUIC MAGI* motets discussed above. Leach points out that this inclusion does not seem warranted by musical style, and Stenzl acknowledges that Handschin doubts the English provenance proposed by Rokseth, from whom Stenzl presumably derives the attribution of this motet to the group. Rokseth 1935–9, 4:88; Handschin 1951, 77; Stenzl 1970, 133; Leach 2011, 13.

[26] Reaffirming the first mode of the chant source may be especially desirable as the chant responsory is thought to have been the first in a modally ordered set. Fassler 2010, 124.

The styles of the two motets are certainly different. The Petronian *SOLEM* motet (**Mo** 7,289/8,338) has a much faster upper voice against long notes in the motetus, which tropes its tenor chant. The *CERNERE* motet (**Mo** 8,343) has more equal voices, all, including the tenor, moving at a faster pace, and using only two tenor cursus, while the *SOLEM* tenor includes three, the latter two in diminution. However, such stylistic differences could have rhetorical force; considered together they might reflect the change of voice implicit in the responsory structure of the tenor source, showcasing different approaches to their shared liturgical source.

The hypothesis of a relationship between the two motets is further supported by the use of sections of text in the triplum of the *CERNERE* motet that recall both the full responsory text and the motetus of the *SOLEM* motet (see Table 7.2). The pairing of these motets is reinforced by their language and fragmentary citation of the tenor; both put special emphasis on the verb *orior* ('to rise' or 'to be born') and its participle *ortum*, a choice that again illuminates the connections between Mary and Jesus as *stella/solem*, the Nativity of both Mother and Son, and the rising of the star of Bethlehem. The *SOLEM/CERNERE* pair is also linked, through the emphasis on Mary's role in the Incarnation, to the season of Christmas and Epiphany and to the *VIRGA JESSE* tenor.

## DEVOTIONAL READING AND **MO**

Despite the lack of any explicit organizational principle, a close reading of these six motets suggests an intricate network of thematic, liturgical, and stylistic connections. Their symmetrical arrangement around the central pair based on the Epiphany sequence demands that we consider these works not only as a thematic cluster but as a carefully ordered, even chiastic, contemplation of the *stella Jacob* (see Figure 7.1). In a recent discussion of similarly 'unordered' works in the first fascicle of **Mo**, Dillon performs a reading of a series of works that open the fascicle. She interprets this series as a guide to the interpretation of the motet as a genre, demonstrating through the juxtaposition of sounds and subjects the complex allegorical and devotional potential of the motet. Both Dillon and Curran, in his work on the La Clayette manuscript, explore the role of sound and manuscript arrangement in the devotional contemplation of motets.[27] The model provided by Dillon and Curran encourages us to approach the series of motets in the sequence in which they appear in the manuscript, considering them in relation to each other, their place on the folio and in the codex. With the general connections among the six **Mo** 8 motets established, we can now turn to studying these motets not only as a set but as a series encountered sequentially by the user of this carefully compiled codex.

The importance of devotional imagery related to Mary and the Epiphany in the cluster discussed here similarly encourages consideration through the lens of

[27] Dillon 2012b, 305–12; Curran 2015.

Table 7.2 Texts and translations of **Mo** 8,338/7,289 and **Mo** 8,343

| ***Mo*** *7,289/8,338 motetus* | ***Mo*** *8,343 triplum* | ***Mo*** *8,343 motetus* |
|---|---|---|
| ***Solem iusticie,***<br>*leticie*<br>*portum,*<br>***regem paritura***<br>*co[h]ortum*<br>*glorie*<br>*intrantem [h]ortum*<br>***pudicicie,***<br>*pre postque* ***virgo*** *pura,*<br>*cella innoxia*<br>*maris acie,*<br>***stella, Maria,***<br>***maris hodie***<br>***processit ad ortum.*** | *Virginis eximie*<br>*celebrantur* ***hodie***<br>*sollempnia,*<br>*cui cantant egregie*<br>*celectis milicie*<br>*agmina.*<br>*O flos* ***pudicicie,***<br>***solem iusticie,***<br>***Deum paritura,***<br>*tuis,* ***virgo****, precibus*<br>*nos perducat Dominus*<br>*ad* ***gaudia*** *futura!* | *N[o]stra salus* ***oritur***<br>***hodie, Maria,***<br>*per quam nobis panditur*<br>*eterne vite via.*<br>*Inimicus vincitur,*<br>*vita nobis redditur*<br>*per te,* ***virgo*** *pia.*<br>*Dele nostra vicia,*<br>*ut te sequi valeamus*<br>*ad eterna* ***gaudia****!* |
| She who is about to give birth to the sun of justice, the harbor of happiness, the King of the hosts of glory, who enters into a garden of modesty; she who is a virgin before and after, a chamber innocent of struggle with man; Mary, star of the sea, today has gone to her rising (*birth*). | Today is celebrated the solemnity of the extraordinary Virgin, to whom sing the ranks of the marvelous heavenly hosts. O flower of modesty, about to give birth to God, the sun of justice, may God lead us, O Virgin, by your prayers, to future joys! | Today our salvation, Mary, rises (*is born*), through whom is opened to us the path of eternal life. The enemy is conquered, life is restored to us, through you, pious Virgin. Take away our sins, that we may be able to follow you to eternal joys! |
| **Mo** 7,289/8,338 tenor | **Mo** 8,343 tenor | |
| *SOLEM*<br>Sun | *CERNERE [DIVINUM LUMEN GAUDETE FIDELES]*<br>[Rejoice, faithful people,] to see [the holy light] | |

Note: Texts and translations are from Stakel and Relihan 1985, 289 and 343. I have added some alternative translations in italics, and citations from the chant source are presented in bold.

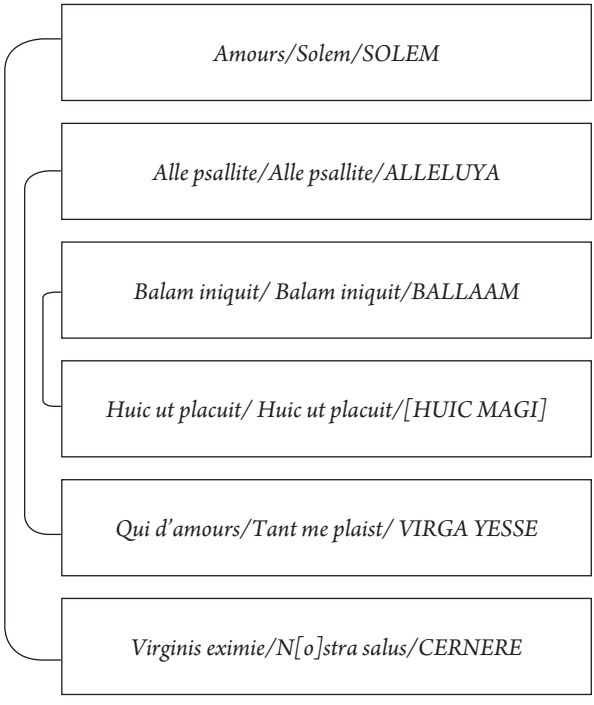



Fig. 7. 1 Chiastic arrangement of motets in **Mo** 8

meditative devotional practice.[28] The repetition of *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,289/8,338), along with its striking Petronian style, alerts the reader/listener to the beginning of a new section. The rhythmic hierarchy of the voices in this style of motet – in which the triplum moves in much smaller note values than the motetus – draws attention to the stratification of the associated texts: the motetus is a particularly close and literal trope on the chant tenor, while the French triplum includes typical courtly love language, in which Love is personified as a master and a force that may aid the lover. As in many such cases, the pairing of the courtly French triplum with the Marian motetus and tenor may suggest an allegorical reading of the maiden as Virgin, and the inclusion of both levels of interpretation of the tenor prepares the reader/listener for the use of the multivalent exegetical hermeneutic readily familiar to the audience of the *Ars antiqua* motet. The structure of the motet encourages meditation on the Virgin, her Nativity, and her role in that of her Son, as well as on the earthly, human relationship to these figures.

The second motet, on *ALLELUYA* (**Mo** 8,339), enacts an elaborate musical evocation of the *jubilus*, adding an affective element to the devotional experience

[28] This interpretation of the motets' purpose is consistent with the size of the codex, which is more typical of a personal devotional book such as a psalter or book of hours than a performance manuscript. The manuscript (and especially the eighth fascicle) does show attention to the alignment of the voices at page-turns, but this could be useful for simultaneous reading as well as performance, or for the kind of teaching from a book proposed by Curran in regard to the La Clayette manuscript. See Wolinski 1988, 30; Norwood 1986; Curran 2015, 208.

of the manuscript or performance. The relationship of the tenor, upper voices, and, potentially, a borrowed antiphon, demonstrates a different kind of troping relationship, including melodic troping and borrowing in the upper voices. The melismatic *alleluia* in the upper voices is interrupted by *psallite*; the sense of the text is nearly abandoned in favour of the joyful sound. Unlike the 'supermusical' motets discussed by Dillon and Curran, in which 'sound asserts itself through and beyond words', *Alle psallite/ALLELUYA* is, like the chant *jubilus*, a supermusical avoidance of words; the text of *Alle psallite/ALLELUYA* is not obscured by the polyphonic structure of the motet, but is instead subordinated to the importance of the musical sound not through surplus of meaningful text but through its absence. If the *SOLEM* motet demonstrates the possibility for literal and allegorical readings of dense motet texts, the playful *ALLELUYA* motet suggests the possibility of anagogical, mystical delight in the motet, laid bare of its complex polytext. If the motet does, indeed, draw on Marian and/or Epiphany chant sources, it demonstrates praise of God through Mary and her role in the Incarnation.

Next, the user of the codex encounters the motet pair on *BALLAAM* and *HUIC MAGI* (**Mo** 8,340–1), tenors unusually closely tied to the literal meaning of their scriptural source: the presence of the figures of the prophet Balaam and the Magi, and the doubled, troping upper voices reinforce the literal reading of the scripture and encourage contemplation of the story of Epiphany. Like the sequence that serves as their source material, these motets guide the listener through the typological relationship between the star of Jacob prophesied by Balaam and the star of Bethlehem that guides the Magi. Because the pair follow the celebratory *ALLELUYA* motet and the *SOLEM* motet that celebrates Mary as star and Christ as sun, this relationship expands to include the idea, already common in the thirteenth century, that the star of Jacob in fact prefigures the nativity of Mary herself – celebrated in the liturgy associated with the *Solem. Cernere* responsory – in addition to that of Christ. Musically, the *BALLAAM/HUIC MAGI* pair continues the melismatic style of the *ALLELUYA* motet.

The bilingual *VIRGA YESSE* motet (**Mo** 8,342) picks up exactly where the *BALLAAM/HUIC MAGI* pair left off: it begins with precisely the same sonority (*G/d/g*), that ends the preceding motet. This relationship is made more evident by the *mise en page* (fol. 394v), which places the beginning of the *VIRGA YESSE* tenor at the end of the same staff that contains the end of the previous tenor, and maintains the same clef placement. As the music creates continuity, this fifth motet also extends the meditation by turning to imagery of Mary as *virga Jesse*, frequently associated with her role as *stella Jacob*. Structurally, it may also be significant that the verse that provides the tenor is taken from the opening of a Marian Alleluia, while the tenor of the motet that precedes the Epiphany pair uses the text *alleluia*, and is also associated with Marian feasts. The two motets based on *ALLELUYA* and *VIRGA YESSE* could constitute a coherent Alleluia–verse pair, framing the Epiphany sequence's star of Jacob and star of Bethlehem with meditation on Mary as the rod of Jesse.

While the courtly upper voices and polytextual style of the *VIRGA YESSE* motet appear discordant at first, the close connection of the tenor to the liturgical and theological concerns of preceding motets again encourages the reader to consider the possibility for figurative reading in the motet. Like the French triplum of the

*SOLEM* motet, these French texts emphasize the role of the lover as willing servant to Love. The similarity of the three French texts suggests a meditation on the necessity of serving Christ and Mary as willing servant, constituting a moral hermeneutic approach to the contemplation of Epiphany. The first verse of the Epiphany sequence, not cited by the *BALLAAM/HUIC MAGI* pair, includes similar imagery, as well as reference to Christ's humility, and his willingness to be a servant. The French texts, while seemingly unrelated to the many tropic texts in this set, in fact put into courtly language the moral lessons to be learned from Christ's example: humility and service to Love and the maiden/Virgin. The sudden change in musical style sonically reinforces the distinction between the two hermeneutic approaches: the text-dense, French, *Ars antiqua* style expresses the moral reading, in contrast to the literal and spiritual readings of the more repetitive, melismatic, Latin motets.

The melismatic opening on *Vir-* of *Virginis eximie/N[o]stra salus/CERNERE* (**Mo** 8,343) echoes the *vir-* of the *VIRGO* tenor of the motet that precedes it. This sixth motet fills an opening in the manuscript, and signals the completion of the series musically and textually by supplying the *Cernere* verse for the *Solem* responsory – mirroring the first chant and bringing the tenor to the *D* final elided by the *SOLEM* tenor's premature conclusion. This motet also completes the devotional meditation on the *stella Jacob*, by emphasizing the Virgin's role in the Incarnation of Christ, again making the literal relationship of troping upper voices to tenor text clear through echoed text and imagery. The texts reinforce the tropological conflation of Mary as *stella*, Christ as fulfilment of Balaam's prophecy, and the literal star of Bethlehem.

The juxtaposition of these motets leads the user of the codex to meditate upon these tropological connections, in a manner similar to *bibles moralisées* and other devotional works created in late medieval France. The unique form of the motet allows the inclusion of other exegetical approaches familiar to the medieval user of the book: the combination of the *stella Jacob* content with courtly French texts encourages application of a more worldly moral hermeneutic, and the wordless *jubilus* of the melismatic settings, especially of the *Alleluia* motet, lead to a meditation on the more mystical implications of the *stella Jacob*. The careful arrangement of the cluster into the nested structure suggested by the mirroring of tenor chants further demands contemplation by the reader, who finds a chiastic approach to the exegesis of the episodes associated with Christmas and Epiphany, or perhaps a reflection of the three-verse structure of the central Epiphany sequence. The user of **Mo** who encounters this series of motets is invited to reflect on their connections, their arrangement, and the application of their messages; this invitation is missed if the motets are encountered only as individual, isolated works.

## CLUSTERS AND EXEMPLARS

Despite musical-stylistic differences, consideration of the devotional possibilities of these motets reveals a strikingly complete and coherent set, complete enough to have enjoyed a separate existence as an independent devotional grouping. This is a coherence that, to some extent, runs contrary to the treatment that some of the most unusual motets in the series have received thus far. Scholarly concern with musical stylistic 'groupings' that include the *ALLELUYA*

and *BALLAAM/HUIC MAGI* motets, and with their potential English origins, has obscured groupings that might relate not to style and origins but to transmission and use. Perhaps this group of pieces travelled together before their incorporation as the eighth fascicle of **Mo**, as a booklet for devotional reading or performance. Such an exemplar would surely have come to the attention of the very thorough compilers of **Mo**, and, if they recognized an existing and coherent structure in the exemplar's organization, perhaps this would justify the repetition of a motet that already appeared elsewhere in the manuscript to which fascicle 8 would be joined.

The possibility that such an exemplar existed raises questions about the uses of such a collection. One possible use is for personal devotion, rather than performance; as we have seen, as a set, the motets can provide the impetus for devotional meditation on the subject of the *stella Jacob*, and the size and characteristics of **Mo** suggest that this copy of the motets might lend itself to private use. The exemplar may have been larger and more functional, however; perhaps it contained liturgical chants and other elaborations upon the Epiphany sequence, a role that has been suggested for the *BALLAAM* and *HUIC MAGI* motets. But not all the tenors in this collection are strictly appropriate to Epiphany, though they share general connections to a sacred season – one known for its festive celebrations. Such a group could have been performed in extra-liturgical festivities, such as those of Johannes de Grocheio's *litterati*; university students in Paris enjoyed a ten-day hiatus around Christmas and Epiphany that may have provided the opportunity for just the kind of 'holiday festivities' that Grocheio had in mind.[29] Given the centrality of certain episodes and imagery – Balaam's prophecy, the arrival of the Magi, the Nativity of the Virgin, the *stella Jacob* and *stella Maria* – in both these motets and the surviving late medieval dramas associated with Christmas celebrations, the motets could have circulated as elaborations on such dramatic occasions.

Without further evidence, we can only speculate on possible origins and contexts for these motets. But the clustering of motets that share so many thematic, liturgical, and structural resonances suggests the use of exemplars that transmitted smaller groups of motets, and the desire of the compilers, at least in some cases, to maintain the structures that came to them in those exemplars, rather than reordering their contents to match alphabetical or generic schemes. The fact that, in other fascicles, clusters seem to coexist with divisions of motets by voice and language suggests either that exemplars tended to originate with preference for a single type, or that those concerns generally overrode the desire to maintain individual exemplar structures. Investigation of **Mo** and of other manuscripts in terms of possible exemplar groupings may eventually provide information on the transmission and circulation of motets and the performative use of their written sources. It also may help us to understand the repetition of nearly identical works within manuscripts without resorting to the argument of scribal incompetence.

[29] Mews et al. 2011, 84–5 (19.2 and 19.4).

# II

# INNOVATION AND TRADITION

CHAPTER 8

# Texture, Rhythm, and Stylistic Groupings in Montpellier 8 motets*

KAREN DESMOND

Stylistically, **Mo** 8 foregrounds its heterogeneity. As discussed elsewhere in this volume, the compiler(s) of **Mo** 8 presented a collection of motets varied in their *mise en page*, their poems' languages, the nature of their *cantus firmi*, and their rhythmic idioms. In terms of its rhythmic techniques, **Mo** 8 includes some motets in a style that must have been considered quite old-fashioned by the time that the fascicle was produced (possibly as late as the 1310s, as Alison Stones and Rebecca Baltzer both propose), copied alongside others that employ some of the most recent rhythmic innovations, in particular with respect to the subdivision of the breve into multiple semibreves.[1] In this essay, I devise a typology to describe the rhythmic language and texture of **Mo** 8's motets, thereby contextualizing these rhythmic techniques within the repertorial landscape of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This typology suggests that particular rhythmic profiles may have been associated with particular sorts of motets, and that composers probably instinctively reached for certain rhythmic techniques when composing certain types of motet. Grouping **Mo** 8's motets according to their rhythmic behaviour reaffirms certain other genre-based criteria used for grouping them: for example, all the motets based on French *chanson* tenors employ a similar rhythmic profile. In addition, grouping motets according to their rhythmic profile aligns particular subsets of motets with more innovative treatments of rhythm and texture (at least considered alongside the motets copied in the so-called old corpus of the codex), possibly establishing them as among the more recent compositions of **Mo** 8. Finally, a comparison of some of the rhythmic profiles in **Mo** 8 motets with those deployed in other fourteenth-century motet collections (namely **Onc** and **Tours**) reveals a stylistic continuity between these sources, suggesting that the compilers of these various collections had similar repertories to hand.

## A TYPOLOGY OF RHYTHMIC BEHAVIOUR IN MO 8

My analysis of rhythmic behaviour focuses on the treatment of semibreves in the **Mo** 8 motets. The desire to more accurately prescribe how long notes could be broken up into shorter ones was a preoccupation of *Ars antiqua* theorists, who were writing their treatises on rhythm in polyphonic music contemporaneously

* I thank Catherine A. Bradley and Sean Curran for their detailed and perceptive comments on earlier drafts of this study.

[1] Dillon 2012b, 301, highlights the 'retrospective rationale' that appears to have been a concern for the compiler(s) of **Mo**. For a useful summary of stylistic types in **Mo** 7 and 8, see Crocker 1990, 670–8.

with the copying and compilation of large *Ars antiqua* motet collections such as **Mo**. The theorists first described semibreves as melismas. For example, the opening paragraphs of Anonymous IV's treatise (written near the end of the thirteenth century) discuss modes where the breve is broken up into two, three, or four notes 'such as in instrumental music'.[2] He uses the verb *frangere* (to break, split, shatter) and the noun *fractio* to denote this rhythmic practice that results in a diversity of modes, which he then outlines in detail in the second half of his first chapter.[3] A group of decorative short notes – called 'running notes' (*currentes*) by some theorists, including Anonymous IV – was most often notated as a series of descending diamond-shaped notes, termed *coniuncturae*. Ligatures could also begin with a pair of semibreves: an ascending stem (*cum opposita proprietate*, hereafter *c.o.p.*) signified that the first two notes of a ligature's melisma were to be sung as semibreves.

Yet the divisions of the breve into shorter notes went beyond the ornamental or decorative when these shorter notes began to be used as carriers of text. They could no longer, therefore, be drawn within ligatures but rather appeared individually as *notae simplices*. In **Mo** 8, semibreves that carry text syllables are present in twenty-two of the forty-two motets (that is, in more than half the motets of the fascicle), comprising eleven French double motets, six Latin double motets, and five bilingual motets (see the second column of Table 8.1). Sixteen of these twenty-two motets have chant tenors, but four have tenors based on French songs; the tenor sources of two tenors of this 'syllabic semibreve' group of motets are unidentified and labelled 'Tenor' in the manuscript (314 and 328). Thirteen are notated with dots of division (*punctus divisionis*). These thirteen motets in particular have a significant number of syllabic semibreves, for dots were needed to separate out the breve groupings of strings of semibreves.[4]

Table 8.1 sorts and groups **Mo** 8's motets according to rhythmic activity, according to a code devised for this study to represent the rhythmic profile of the three-voice texture. Each digit of the code corresponds to a particular voice-part, in the order triplum, motetus, tenor. The level of rhythmic activity is assessed on a scale of

[2] 'Again there are other modes, like the above-mentioned, that break the breve or breves into two, three, or four, etc., like on instruments, thus we also say [the same] about their longs, etc. Because of these broken notes, we enumerate many varieties of modes, as will be shown more fully below' (*Iterato sunt et alii modi, prout modi supradicti frangunt brevem vel breves in duas, tres vel quatuor et cetera, prout in instrumentis; sic etiam dicimus de longis eorundem et cetera. De quibus fractionibus colligimus plures diversitates modorum, ut in posteris plenius patebit*). Reckow 1967, 1:22–3, my translation. Anonymous IV refers to 'breaking' once more in the *prima pars* of chapter one (fourth paragraph): 'The sound for one *tempus* can be said to be a sound that lasts, not for the least nor the greatest amount of time, but briefly, for a medium amount [of time] that can be broken by quick motion into two or three or four parts at most by the human voice, although it can be done differently on instruments' (*sonus sub uno tempore <acceptus> potest dici sonus acceptus sub tempore non minimo, non maximo, sed medio legittimo breviter sumpto, quod possit frangi veloci motu in duobus, in tribus vel quatuor <ad> plus in voce humana, quamvis in instrumentis possit aliter fieri*). Reckow 1967, 1:23, English translation modified from Yudkin 1985, 14.

[3] On the practice of *fractio modi*, see Smith 1990.

[4] The *punctus divisionis* is also found in three motets of **Mo** 7: 253, 254, and 264.

'1' to '5', where '1' is the most active and '5' the least. The rhythmic activity is gauged – to give a general sense – on whether a particular marker of rhythmic activity is found in a voice-part.[5] The numerical designations are explained as follows:

- A voice-part is assigned '1' if it employs three or more syllabic semibreves per breve.
- '2' designates voice-parts that employ no more than two syllabic semibreves per breve.
- '3' signals voice-parts that deploy longs, breves, and semibreves, but whose semibreves are never set syllabically.
- '4' and '5' apply only to tenor lines:
    - '4' is a short repeated rhythmic pattern (i.e. an *ordo*) combined of longs and rests;
    - '5' is a tenor structured as a series of undifferentiated perfect longs and possibly duplex longs, punctuated periodically with rests and occasional breves.

Scholars have tended to consider as a group the compositions that deploy four or more semibreves per breve: that is, the so-called 'Petronian' designation used by many scholars to single out the 'innovative' motets of **Mo** 7 and 8. I contend that it may be also useful to consider these 'Petronian' motets directly alongside other motets that are stylistically very similar in their rhythmic language: for example, those that also deploy strings of syllabic semibreves in the triplum voice but have no more than three syllabic semibreves per breve. Thus, I have included all **Mo** 8 motets with three or more syllabic semibreves per breve under the '1' designation (see the first nine motets listed in Table 8.1). Categorizing according to this typology here broadens out the focus beyond the relatively small group of 'Petronian' motets and their innovative aspects.

A pair of examples serves to clarify the assignation of these codes. Example 8.1a – **Mo** 8,329, a Latin double motet – is assigned a '334' profile, since the two upper parts have equal rhythmic activity, with only melismatic semibreves, and supported by a tenor voice that sings a repeated *ordo*. By contrast, Example 8.1b, **Mo** 8,317, has a rhythmically stratified texture, with its three voices distributed across the spectrum of rhythmic activity. Its '135' texture has three or more syllabic semibreves in the triplum, melismatic semibreves in the motetus, and a series of longs in the tenor. When the **Mo** 8 motets are sorted and grouped in this way, according to rhythmic activity or profile, other common compositional and stylistic features emerge. In the following, I briefly outline the stylistic and generic

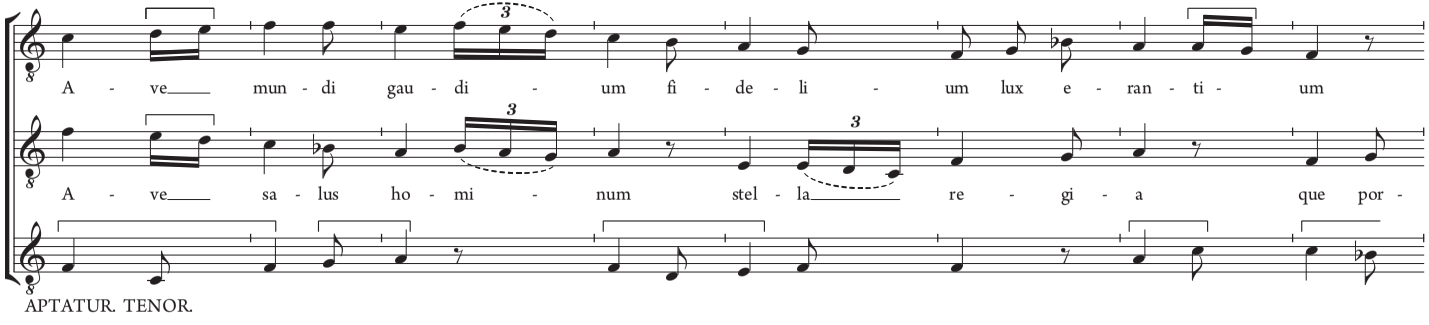
[5] There are two motets – **Mo** 8,334 and 8,323 – that, according to this strict criterion, ought to have been placed within a different grouping, since they each had a single instance of a particular marker in one voice-part. These two cases are clearly indicated in the table with asterisks and italics, and the 'strict' grouping noted in parentheses in the 'Rhythmic Profile' column. 334 in its penultimate measure has one instance of a syllabic semibreve pair in the *motetus*, but other than this it is very similar to the other motets in the '234' grouping. The song motet 323 has one instance of a pair of a syllabic semibreves in the triplum, and one instance of a syllabic semibreve pair in the motetus. But with the exception of these two instances (one in each voice), 323's texture better reflects the '333' profile.

Table 8.1 Rhythmic profiles of **Mo** 8 motets (motets with syllabic semibreves are highlighted in bold in the '**Mo** number' column). The groups are named from the most common profile in the group.

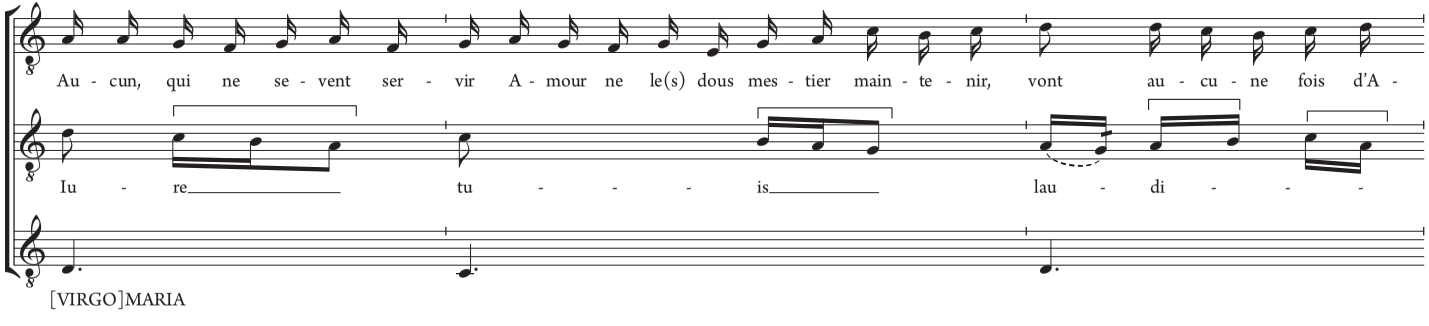
| *Mo number* | *Syllabic semibreves* | *Dots of division* | *Languages of upper voices* | | | *Tenor source* | | | *Rhythmic profile* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Latin* | *French* | *Bilingual* | *Chant* | *Song* | *Unknown* | |
| | | | | | **'135'** | | | | |
| **311** | • | • | | • | | • | | | 123 |
| **332** | • | • | | • | | • | | | 125 |
| **305** | • | • | | • | | • | | | 134 |
| **307** | • | • | | | • | • | | | 134 |
| **316** | • | • | | • | | • | | | 134 |
| **317** | • | • | | | • | • | | | 135 |
| **330** | • | • | • | | | • | | | 135 |
| **314** | • | • | | • | | | | • | 135 |
| **338** | • | • | | | • | • | | | 135 |
| | | | | | **'223'** | | | | |
| **319** | • | • | | • | | | • | | 222 |
| **328** | • | • | • | | | | | • | 223 |
| **340** | • | | • | | | • | | | 223 |
| **341** | • | | • | | | • | | | 223 |
| **310** | • | • | | | • | • | | | 223 |
| | | | | | **'235'** | | | | |
| **306** | • | | • | | | • | | | 234 |
| **335** | • | | | • | | • | | | 234 |
| **322** | • | | • | | | • | | | 235 |
| *334** | • | | | • | | • | | | 235 (225) |
| **342** | • | | | • | | • | | | 235 |

| ***Mo*** *number* | *Syllabic semibreves* | *Dots of division* | *Languages of upper voices* | | | *Tenor source* | | | *Rhythmic profile* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Latin* | *French* | *Bilingual* | *Chant* | *Song* | *Unknown* | |
| | | | | | **'333'** | | | | |
| **309** | • | | | | • | | • | | 233 |
| **312** | • | • | | • | | | • | | 233 |
| **321** | • | | | • | | | • | | 233 |
| **313** | | | | • | | | • | | 333 |
| **318** | | | | • | | | • | | 333 |
| *323** | | | | • | | | • | | 333 (223) |
| **325** | | | | • | | | • | | 333 |
| **333** | | | | • | | | • | | 333 |
| **337** | | | | • | | | • | | 333 |
| | | | | | **'334'** | | | | |
| **304** | | | • | | | | | • | 334 |
| **308** | | | • | | | • | | | 334 |
| **315** | | | • | | | | | • | 334 |
| **320** | | | | • | | • | | | 334 |
| **324** | | | | • | | • | | | 334 |
| **326** | | | • | | | • | | | 334 |
| **327** | | | • | | | • | | | 334 |
| **329** | | | • | | | • | | | 334 |
| **331** | | | • | | | | | • | 334 |
| **336** | | | | • | | • | | | 334 |
| **343** | | | • | | | • | | | 334 |
| **344** | | | • | | | • | | | 334 |
| **339** | | | • | | | • | | | 335 |
| **345** | | | | • | | • | | | 335 |

Ex. 8.1a **Mo** 8,329, longs 1–8, an example of a '334' profile.




Ex. 8.1b **Mo** 8,317, longs 1–3, an example of a '135' profile.



connections between the motets of each rhythmic profile group, as characterized by the rhythmic differentiation between the three voice-parts, and the ways in which semibreves are deployed.

## THE '334' GROUP

TABLE 8.1 is sorted according to rhythmic profile number assigned to each motet, which I have then aggregated into overarching types or groups. For clarity's sake I have given a title to these overarching groups (and to the sections of this essay) derived from the most prominent rhythmic profile in that group. At the bottom of Table 8.1 is the group of fourteen **Mo** 8 motets that displays the most restricted range of rhythmic activity: motets that have the rhythmic profile of either '334' or '335'. The majority are Latin double motets (just four are French double motets) with two upper voices equally active and moving in rhythmic patterns that for the most part conform to a single rhythmic mode. The upper voices are accompanied by either an *ordo*-based '4' tenor (as in Example 8.1a), or by a tenor comprising a series of undifferentiated long notes ('5'). In addition, all of the motets in this group are based on chant tenors, with the possible exception of three, whose tenors remain unidentified. Of the four French double motets with a '334' or '335' profile, three are based on well-known chant tenors,[6] and two have multiple concordances in other manuscripts. **Mo** 8,320 on *FIAT* has concordances in **N**, **StV**, and **Tu**, and was described by Friedrich Ludwig as one of the oldest motets in the eighth fascicle.[7] **Mo** 8,345, the final motet of the fascicle and the manuscript as a whole, was also widely circulated.[8]

By contrast, the Latin double motets with this rhythmic profile are all unica, although the texts of **Mo** 8,326 are known from other sources. The stylistic similarities – texture, limited rhythmic vocabulary – between these Latin double motets and the four French double motets might suggest that the Latin double motets were also among the older motets of **Mo** 8. Alternatively, given their status as unica, it might instead be proposed that this group of Latin double motets was more recently composed, but purposefully written in a deliberately archaic imitation of a simpler and more 'antique' rhythmic style.[9]

Semibreves in this rhythmic profile are confined to melismatic passing notes, most often located on the third breve of a perfection in motets written in the first mode, on the first breve of a perfection in motets in second mode, and on the proper breve (*brevis recta*) of the third-mode motets. In each case, the pair of semibreves – notated as a two-note *c.o.p.* ligature – is almost always descending, a substitute for the *brevis recta* in the standard modal pattern. Three-semibreve melismas

[6] **Mo** 8,324 and 336 are on *IN SECULUM* (M13) and **Mo** 8,345 is on *IOHANNE* (M29).

[7] Ludwig 1978, 554–5.

[8] Versions of this motet are found in **Ba**, $\mathbf{W_2}$, and **MüB**, and the old corpus of **Mo**: see Table 1.4 in Mark Everist's chapter in this volume for the full details of these concordances (p. 20).

[9] On the abundance of unica in **Mo** 8, see Chapter 1 of this volume by Everist, pp. 17–20.

are deployed rarely in this grouping, although they are found occasionally in the form of a three-note descending *coniunctura* (see the opening of the motetus in Example 8.1a, where the *coniuncturae* are highlighted with a dashed slur).[10]

## THE '333' GROUP

MOTETS with a '333' profile comprise an even more homogeneous group of six French double motets all based on song tenors. The triplum and motetus have the same level of rhythmic activity, with only decorative (i.e. non-syllabic) semibreves. Similar to the '334' group, the exclusively melismatic semibreves in the '333' grouping consist mostly of two-semibreve *c.o.p.* ligatures with occasional three-semibreve descending *coniuncturae*. In these motets the song-based tenor often contains melismatic semibreves, resulting in a texture of three almost equally active voices.[11]

Also included in the '333' group are the three remaining French-song tenor motets – **Mo** 8,309, 312, and 321 – which, owing to their more active tripla, are categorized here as '233'. The triplum of **Mo** 8,312 has strings of syllabic semibreve pairs, while the tripla of **Mo** 8,309 and 321 have occasional syllabic semibreve pairs. Groups of three melismatic semibreves (and specifically the descending three-note *coniuncturae*) are much more common in these motets than in the '334/335' and '333' motets.[12] Motets such as **Mo** 8,309 and 321 would have to have been performed at a tempo slow enough to accommodate their texted semibreves.[13] This would have allowed for a precise articulation of the syllabic two-semibreve declamatory figurations that frequently mark the beginnings of new phrases in these motets in the rhythmically unequal fashion (minor–major) described in the theoretical treatises of Franco of Cologne and Magister Lambertus. The preferred decorative melisma in the tripla of 309 and 321 is the three-note *coniunctura*. The motetus parts of these two motets, like their tripla, feature several three-semibreve melismas (unlike the motetus and tripla of the '334/335' and '333' profiles, which prefer two-semibreve melismas; see Appendix, Table 8.5a). The melismatic semibreve pairs of 309 and 321

[10] Luther Dittmer's study of the ligatures in **Mo** confirms that the descending *c.o.p.* ligature and the three-note *coniunctura* are by far the most common ligatures in fascicle eight. Dittmer 1955, 54–5.

[11] The motet **Mo** 8,313 has an *ordo*-type pattern in the tenor but it is varied in the middle of the song.

[12] **Mo** 8,312 is an exception since there is one melismatic three-semibreve figure in the entire motet; all its other melismatic figures consist of two-semibreve melismas, notated as *c.o.p.* ligatures. **Mo** 8,309 and **Mo** 8,321 are first-mode motets, and the triplum characteristically features syllabic semibreves on the first beat of a perfection (and often at the opening of a phrase) and a three-semibreve descending melisma on the third beat of a perfection. By contrast, the triplum of **Mo** 8,312 is predominantly in mode six and features strings of syllabic semibreves in the triplum that require the *punctus divisionis* to differentiate the breve groupings. Strings of syllabic semibreves such as these are common in the '135' rhythmic profile to be described below.

[13] For a recent discussion of the references to tempo in Jacobus's *Speculum musicae* and Robert of Handlo's *Regule*, see Bent 2015, 40–1.

– written as *c.o.p.*s – were almost certainly sung unequally (minor–major), matching the interpretation of the syllabic semibreves in accompanying tripla. However, since, as noted above, three-semibreve melismas are rarely found in motets of the '334/335' and '333' motets, it is possible to sing them at a brisker tempo, which in performance effectively renders each melismatic semibreve of the two-semibreve pairs almost (if not, completely) equal.

This sorting and grouping of **Mo** 8's motets in Table 8.1 makes no claims as to their relative chronology. The use of syllabic semibreves within a particular motet does not necessarily imply anything about when that piece was composed in comparison to a motet that does not deploy syllabic semibreves. For example, pairs of syllabic semibreves used in a similar way to these '233' motets are found in earlier fascicles of **Mo** and will be discussed below. Similarly, the motets of the '333' group, which contain no syllabic semibreves, may nonetheless demonstrate, as Mark Everist has described, 'a range of experimental practices … that crucially underpins the emergence of the polyphonic chanson' around the year 1300.[14] The relatively straightforward rhythmic behaviour of the '333' group might at first glance suggest that these motets were composed prior to those **Mo** 8 motets that deploy more innovative and/or variegated rhythms; Everist's analysis, however, suggests that the compositional priorities of the composers of the '333' French-tenor motets were instead focused on the poetic structure of the tenor's song, and on the mirroring of that repeating structure in the upper voices, resulting in textures and structures that in effect prefigure the mid-fourteenth-century polyphonic chanson, but within a polytextual context.

## THE '235' GROUP

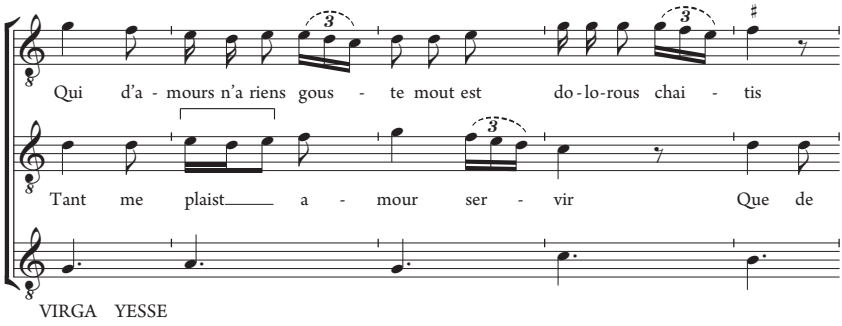
THESE motets have a rhythmically stratified style, with each voice clearly distinguished by a noticeably different level of rhythmic activity (see **Mo** 8,342 in Example 8.2). Three-semibreve melismas are the standard ornament in '235' motets, in both the triplum and the motetus. There are only two syllabic semibreves per breve in the triplum and no syllabic semibreves in the motetus, and the two syllabic semibreves tend to be used at the beginnings of phrases. In the manuscript layout, the triplum usually occupies one extra complete staff on each page.[15] A mixture of Latin double motets and French double motets are found in this group, but all are based on chant tenors.

In these motets the three-semibreve descending melisma as a decorative figure is ubiquitous, while the ascending two-semibreve melisma is also common (Appendix 1, Table 8.5a). Example 8.2 shows the typical use of the semibreve in the '234' rhythmic profile. Syllabic semibreves are used sparingly in this profile

[14] Everist 2007, 374. The **Mo** 8 motets examined by Everist include **Mo** 8,318 and **Mo** 8,325 – two motets in the '333' grouping.

[15] This is the '**Mo** 8 layout' discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this volume by Oliver Huck, pp. 90–4. Of the '235' group, only **Mo** 8,322 does not use the **Mo** 8 layout. In this motet there are only three instances of syllabic semibreves in the triplum, and the scribe has therefore fit the motet in equal columns for the triplum and motetus.

Ex. 8.2 **Mo** 8,342 longs 1–5, an example of a '235' profile.




(Appendix, Table 8.5a), but the syllabic semibreve pair on a repeated note (used mostly to begin phrases, as also in the tripla of the '233' song motets) is a frequent gesture.

## THE '223' GROUP

THIS texture is found in a group of motets well known in the scholarly literature for other unique features. **Mo** 8,328 is known for its binary breves, and the prominent voice-exchange in the pair of related *BALLAAM–HUIC MAGI* motets (**Mo** 8,340 and 341) has also attracted attention.[16] The rhythmic profile of these motets is characterized by an upper-voice duet, where the upper voices are equally active rhythmically, both featuring syllabic semibreves.[17] These motets, in contrast to the profiles examined thus far, have few or no three-note melismatic semibreves, although the melismatic introitus of 340 and the melismatic final sections of 340 and 341 exceptionally skew the totals of the sample as a whole (see Appendix, Table 8.5c). The texted sections of 340 and 341, however, do closely match the rhythmic profiles of the upper voices of **Mo** 8,310, 319, and 328, with similarly rare melismas. The mode-two motets (310 and 319) tend mainly to feature syllabic semibreves on breves two and three of the perfection, whereas the first-mode motets of this group (340 and 341) place the syllabic semibreves on breve one of the perfection. **Mo** 8,341 also features single semibreves with single semibreve rests in its hocket section.

[16] On the tenor rhythm of **Mo** 8,328, see the discussion by Mary E. Wolinski in this volume (pp. 195–6); on the *BALLAAM* motets see the essay by Anna Kathryn Grau in this volume (pp. 124–8).

[17] **Mo** 8,310 has a tenor *ordo* in longs for the first statement of the *color*, which is stated in diminution (in breves) for the second statement of the *color*, and so there are essentially two textures juxtaposed in this motet: a '224' that is followed by a '223'. **Mo** 8,328 also features diminution of its *talea*-like tenor. **Mo** 8,319 – on the tenor *FRESE NOUVELE* – has a similar texture to the motets contained in this group, with equally active upper voices, although, since it features syllabic semibreves in its tenor, it is labelled with the unique profile of '222'.

## THE '135' GROUP

THIS final grouping demonstrates the fully stratified motet style, with the widest range of rhythmic values available distributed across the three voices, as shown in the '135' rhythmic profile given as Example 8.1b. This group also contains those motets labelled 'Petronian' in the modern literature that contain more than three semibreves per breve (namely **Mo** 8,317, 332, and 338).[18] Those motets with a '3' profile in the motetus voice almost exclusively use two-semibreve-per-breve *c.o.p.* decorative figures (for example, **Mo** 8,305). Furthermore, every motet within this group is notated with the *punctus divisionis*.

Recall that the tripla of many of the '235' motets described above used a small handful of syllabic semibreve pairs – usually at beginnings of phrases, and almost always on the first beat of a perfection – for special emphasis within a texture that mostly moved in longs, breves, and melismatic semibreves. Similarly, now that the predominant rhythmic motion in many of these '135' motets is in pairs of syllabic semibreves (hence the ubiquitous use of the *punctus divisionis* in this group), occasional groups of *three* syllabic semibreves are deployed for emphasis at beginnings of phrases. This three-semibreve syllabic group replaces the first breve of the perfection in first-mode motets (as for example in **Mo** 8,330).[19] In mode-two motets, these groups of three texted semibreves are deployed on breves two and three of the perfection (see **Mo** 8,311 and 316). In the Petronian motets (**Mo** 8,317, 332, and 338), three syllabic semibreves are found with almost equal regularity on any breve of the perfection (that is, replacing either the first, second, or third breve) and these groupings are alternated with even larger groupings of semibreves (up to six) in the space of a single breve. The decorative melismas of the motetus parts are more frequently of the two-semibreve *c.o.p.* type, with the exception of 311, which also includes several three-semibreve *coniuncturae*.

To summarize: in the motets of the '135' rhythmic profile, paired-semibreve motion predominates, whether the two-semibreve melismas that are common in the motetus parts, or the strings of syllabic two-semibreve pairs that predominate in the tripla, with further subdivisions of the breve (into three to six semibreves) deployed for emphatic effect (in the same way that the syllabic semibreve pairs were deployed in the '234/235' grouping to contrast against the regular breve motion).[20]

[18] Three other Petronian works are found in fascicle 7 (and have concordances in **Tu**): **Mo** 7,253, 7,254 and 7,264. These motets are all contained within the main section of fascicle 7 (not in the supplements). Most of the scholarship on the Petronian style has focused on these works in **Mo** 7 and 8, and on the descriptions of Petronian notation found in various contemporaneous theoretical treatises, with the exception of Peter Lefferts's work on the English motet, which considers the English sources with Petronian notation in detail (see below, n. 41).

[19] In this pair of motets, we also find the melismatic three-semibreve descending *coniunctura* found on the third breve of the perfection, as was true of the '234/235' motets.

[20] For a more detailed analysis of the rationale behind the larger semibreve groups in the Petronian motets, see Chapter 9 by David Maw in this volume.

These '135' motets have few three-semibreve melismas, and a predominance of strings of semibreve pairs. Is it possible, therefore, that in the '135' motets each semibreve of a semibreve pair was performed equally? This question cannot be answered here, since it would require a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic or versification stress patterns of the syllables, in addition to an analysis of the contrapuntal language. Yet if paired semibreves in these motets were performed equally, and the groups of three syllabic semibreves unequally (rendered perhaps as ♩ ♪♪ or ♪♪ ♩), the rhythmic language of this subgroup of **Mo** 8 motets would be similar to the binary divisions of the breve found in a number of **Fauv** motets. A contrast between equal semibreves in two-note groups (♩ ♩), with unequal semibreves in three-note groups, would highlight the emphatic quality of the three-note groups (♩ ♪♪). This would seem to mirror the similarly emphatic effect of this contrast in **Fauv** (most often marked there by the scribe with a descending stem on the first semibreve), and mirrors the unequal delivery of syllabic semibreves of the '235' group (although, in this case, pairs of semibreves, contrasting with the predominately breve movement), tellingly reserved chiefly for the beginnings of phrases.[21]

* * * * *

The foregoing analysis profiled the rhythmic characteristics of **Mo** 8 motets, highlighting a standard treatment of semibreves within each rhythmic type. The specific details for each motet's semibreves are outlined in tables in the Appendix, and, some exceptions notwithstanding, it is now possible to summarize five styles of rhythmic motion that are found across the triplum and motetus parts of **Mo** 8's motets (see Table 8.2).

Some of these categories of rhythmic motion map directly onto the discussion of *mores* described in Robertus de Handlo's *Summa* (reporting the theories of Petrus le Viser) and the *mensurae* of Jacobus's *Speculum musicae*. For example, using Petrus le Viser's designations, a **Mo** 8 motet in the '135' profile would manifest a *mos longus* (in the triplum) and a *mos lascivus* in the motetus (see the first row of Table 8.2).[22] The *mos lascivus* style (as described in the first row of Table 8.2) has a long period of use: we see it in **Mo** 8, for instance, in the two upper parts of the oldest layer of French double motets of the '334/335' profile (it is, of course, also present in earlier fascicles of **Mo**), and it is still used in the motetus parts of the post-**Fauv** *Ars nova* motets composed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Understanding conventions within a rhythmic profile offers a fundamental tool to identify particular motets or groupings of motets that manifest a more

[21] It may also be possible, as Apel 1953, 324, suggested, that the multiple semibreves simply function to deliver many syllables of text as rapidly as possible in a *parlando* fashion. For further discussion of the interpretation of the subdivision of the breve in the *Ars antiqua* and early *Ars nova*, see the useful summary in Bent 2015, 39–43; and see also Chapter 4 of Desmond forthcoming.

[22] For the most comprehensive discussion of these designations, see Roesner, Avril, and Regalado 1990, 37–8.

Table 8.2 Styles of rhythmic motion that are found across the triplum and motetus parts of **Mo** 8 motets

| | '135' | '223' | '235' | '233' | '333' | '334/335' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| longs and breves with a predominance of (primarily descending) two-semibreve *c.o.p.* melismas replacing the *brevis recta* of the motet's prevailing mode, with only occasional three-semibreve descending *coniuncturae* | motetus | | | | triplum<br>motetus | triplum<br>motetus |
| longs and breves with a predominance of three-semibreve descending *coniuncturae* and some (mostly descending) two-semibreve *c.o.p.* melismas | | | motetus | motetus | | |
| longs and breves with occasional syllabic semibreve pairs at beginnings of phrases or perfections, and mostly three-semibreve melimatic descending *coniuncturae*; less used is the (mostly ascending) two-semibreve *c.o.p.* | | triplum and motetus of **Mo** 8,340 and 341 (melismatic sections) | triplum | triplum | | |
| mostly syllabic motion in breves and syllabic semibreve pairs, and no (or few) semibreve melismas | | triplum<br>motetus | | triplum of **Mo** 8,312 | | |
| strings of syllabic semibreves pairs interspersed with occasional groups of three or more syllabic semibreves deployed for emphasis at beginnings of phrases, or to replace the first breve of the perfection in first-mode motets, or the second and/or third breve of the perfection in second-mode motets | triplum | | | | | |

unusual treatment of rhythmic language. Future analyses of the rhythmic language of turn-of-the-century motets can implement and build on this typology.

## THE 'ACCOMPANIED TRIPLUM' STYLE

To bolster her palaeographical argument regarding the relationship between the later fascicles of **Mo** and the old corpus, Mary Wolinski asserted stylistic similarities between the old corpus repertory and the musical style of the compositions in the eighth fascicle.[23] She pointed out that the 'accompanied triplum' style found in twenty-two motets in fascicle 7 and fourteen in fascicle 8 was also found in earlier fascicles. The style that she identifies as an 'accompanied triplum' style corresponds to the nine motets of my '135' group; **Mo** 8,310 from my '223' group; **Mo** 8,309 and 312 from the '333' group; and **Mo** 8,306 and 334 from the '235' group.[24] Wolinski writes that not only 'fascicle 7 but also fascicles 2–6 contain motets that betray textures and rhythmic features found in fascicle 8. The accompanied triplum texture is encountered in fascicles 2–6, and over half of the bilingual motets of fascicle 3 fall into this category.'[25] She identified six motets from fascicle 3 that are in this accompanied triplum style, two motets from fascicle 4, and a further eight motets in fascicle 5. I would add that there are two motets in fascicle 2 that contain a handful of syllabic semibreve pairs in the quadruplum, and the list of nine motets I identify from fascicle 5 in this texture differs slightly from Wolinski's list.[26] All of these motets stand out in the context of the old corpus, since their use of syllabic semibreves is not found elsewhere in fascicles 2–6.

The motets of the old corpus that deploy syllabic semibreves display a much more homogeneous aspect than **Mo** 8's fully stratified style discussed above (that is, the '135' group). With just one exception (**Mo** 3,40), all the motets for three

[23] Wolinski 1992, 290: 'the uniqueness of fascicle 8's repertory is not an indicator of progressiveness. Although it may have been more recently composed, the music of fascicle 8 is no more advanced stylistically than that of the rest of the manuscript.'

[24] In fascicle 7, Wolinski 1992, 288, identifies nos. 253–6, 258, 262–4, 269–70, 272–4, 281, 289, 290, 293–4, 297–9, and 302 as being in an accompanied triplum style. While **Mo** 8,335 and **Mo** 8,322 do feature syllabic semibreves in the triplum, they have very few syllabic semibreves: this is probably why they are not listed within Wolinski's 'accompanied triplum' group. **Mo** 8,342, however, is very clearly a '235' texture, with the triplum more prominent than the motetus, and probably ought also to be included. **Mo** 8,321 almost resembles a '333' texture, and so it is understandable that Wolinski also excluded this motet, although there are several instances of two syllabic semibreves on repeated pitches at phrase beginnings. I do not agree with her inclusion of **Mo** 8,310 within the 'accompanied triplum' group, since the two top voices are equally active in the second half of the motet (this motet interestingly features a triplum in Latin – the only Latin text to have three or more semibreves per breve in **Mo** 8).

[25] Wolinski 1992, 289.

[26] In fascicle 2, **Mo** 2, 20 and 23 have SSBB syllabic patterns in the *quadruplum*. Wolinski's list of six from fascicle 3 are nos. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44; her list of two from fascicle 4 are nos. 52 and 53; and her list of eight from fascicle 5 are nos. 77, 102, 103, 123, 124, 143, 144, 164. I did not include **Mo** 5,123 and 124 since these two upper voices are equally active, and I would add nos. 76, 84, and 119 since they all include syllabic semibreves.

voices with syllabic semibreves are in the '234' rhythmic profile: that is, isolated pairs of syllabic breves in the triplum usually marking the beginnings of phrases; longs, breves, and decorative semibreves in the motetus; and a repeated *ordo* in the tenor.[27] The pairs of syllabic semibreves are found in French-texted triplum voices only (with the exception of two Latin tripla in fascicle 4).

The syllabic semibreve pairs are used in a manner characteristic of the '234' rhythmic profile of **Mo** 8: they mark the beginning of a poetic line, and are repeated notes that serve a declamatory and emphatic purpose. In consequence, the syllabic semibreve pair is usually found at the beginning of a perfection, followed by two breves. Strings of syllabic semibreve pairs are not evident, again with the one exception of **Mo** 3,40, which deploys semibreve pairs more frequently. Lambertus assigned this SSBB pattern that we commonly find at the beginning of triplum phrases in these motets to a specific mode, which he called the sixth mode (of the nine he outlined in his treatise). He illustrated his sixth mode with the music example of *O virgo virginum celi domina*, an otherwise unidentified composition that has the rhythm LSSBBL.[28]

The rhythmic profile of these motets in the old corpus and the formulaic patterning of the syllabic semibreves is very similar to the group of '234' motets in **Mo** 8. Contrary to Wolinski's assertion, however, the old corpus motets that use syllabic semibreves in the triplum present a homogeneity that differs in texture and rhythmic language from the **Mo** 8 motets where syllabic semibreves are found in motetus parts, or where the upper voice has three or more syllables per breve, and strings of syllabic semibreve pairs, or those **Mo** 8 motets with syllabic semibreves and Latin texts. There is also greater variety in the deployment of the semibreve in **Mo** 8, compared with the conventional positioning of semibreves within the unit-boundaries of the prevailing mode in the tripla of the old corpus. I would also suggest that the French motets of the '234' profile in **Mo** 8 represent some of the older or at least more conventional works in this fascicle, along with the French double motets of the '334' grouping. By contrast, innovation and experiment in **Mo** 8 is found in the '135' and '223' groups, and in the song motets (the '333' group).

## COMPARABLE MOTET MANUSCRIPTS

Instead of looking for similarities in **Mo** 8's notational practice, texture, and generic mix within the earlier fascicles of the same manuscript, perhaps a more useful comparand is the repertory found in the fourteenth-century motet codex preserved in a fragmentary state in **Onc**.[29] Thought to be copied in the early

[27] **Mo** 3,40 contains two groups of four semibreves, whose presence receives a convincing musico-textual explanation in Sean Curran's recent analysis of the 'La Clayette' manuscript concordance of this motet (*Par une matinee/Mellis stilla/ALLELUIA*). According to Curran, the four semibreves occur at a moment of ventriloquism, where the chevalier notes the shepherdess's nonsensical laments over the loss of Robin. The four semibreves, then, are essentially nonsense, since three semibreves per breve are the logical limit within the motet style recorded in fascicle 3. For an analysis of this motet, see Curran 2013b, 168–84, esp. 181–2.

[28] Meyer and Desmond 2015, 108–9.

[29] The texts of the two upper voices of **Mo** 7,275 (*Iam nubes* on the *SOLEM* tenor) are found in **Onc**, but set to different music, and the tenor, although missing in **Onc**, was found to be a different tenor (not *SOLEM*) and reconstructed by Paul Hankshaw. See Lefferts 1986, 294–5.

fourteenth century, **Onc** is contemporaneous with the copying of **Mo** 8, and its contents suggest that the mix of styles that we find in **Mo** 8 was current in other early fourteenth century sources. In addition – despite **Mo** 8's high proportion of unica – we find that three of **Onc**'s twenty-two compositions have concordances with **Mo**: with 275 of fascicle 7, and 340 and 341 of fascicle 8.[30]

The notation of **Onc** – usually described as 'Petronian' – features unstemmed syllabic semibreves, dots of division, and breves subdivided into four or more semibreves. Like **Mo** 8, it transmits Latin double motets, a number of song motets, and one bilingual double motet (see Table 8.3).[31] Chant tenors have been identified for nine of the motets, and four motets are based on French *chansons* (a further nine compositions have unidentified tenors, or are fragmentary compositions, and not necessarily motets).[32] Although **Onc** contains some motets for the Virgin, its repertory is not exclusively Marian. The manuscript includes two motets for St Thomas of Canterbury, one for St Augustine of Canterbury, one for St Edward, and one for St Katherine of Alexandria (for whom Anselm dedicated an altar at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury).[33] From these associations, it is tempting to suppose connections to Canterbury, and possibly royal ones, for **Onc**'s repertory.[34]

Syllabic semibreves are found in nine **Onc** motets.[35] *Triumphat/SI, SI QE LA NUIT* (**Onc** 3) and *Caligo/Virgo/TENOR* (**Onc** 10) have French song tenors, and like **Mo** 8's '233' song motets, this pair of **Onc** motets have syllabic semibreves in the triplum, and almost equally active voices. The texture of *Civitas/Tu es caelestis/CIBUS* (**Onc** 6), by contrast, resembles the fully stratified ('135') style of **Mo** 8, with long strings of syllabic semibreve pairs. Its texture is similar to the fully stratified style of **Mo** 8, 332, for example. Going beyond the breve divisions found in **Mo** 8,

[30] Two other **Onc** motets have concordances with sources thought to be English: **Lbl Add 24198** and **Tours**.

[31] The French motetus text of this bilingual motet, *Triumphat hodie Christi miles/Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme/Si, si qe la nuit vus preigne*, is not actually present in **Onc**, but is known from the concordance of this motet in **Lbl Add 24198**, fol. 1v.

[32] Like **Mo** 8,309, whose *chanson* tenor is found as a refrain in **Douce**, the *chanson* tenor of the motet (**Onc** 8) *Ade finit perpete nephas/Ade finit misere delictum/A DEFINEMENT D'ESTÉ LERAY* (concordant with **Tours**) was found by John Caldwell in **Douce**. Saltzstein 2013, 154–64, has recently analysed the intertextual transmission of the refrain found in **Mo** 8,309 and its related compositions. Saltzstein notes that Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel Rosenberg have found eleven ballettes of **Douce** that reappear within voices of the motets in **Mo**. See Doss-Quinby and Rosenberg 2006, lxxix, quoted in Saltzstein 2013, 156.

[33] On the cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in England, see Lewis 2000.

[34] The essays in this volume by Alison Stones (Chapter 3) and Rebecca Baltzer (Chapter 4) suggest a Parisian and possibly royal context for the production of **Mo** 8.

[35] Of the twenty-two compositions, one is a conductus, one is untexted, and two are so fragmentary that it is not possible to conclusively identify them definitively as motets. Of the remaining eighteen compositions, syllabic semibreves are found in **Onc** nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 16, and 19. I examined the manuscript *in situ* in March 2014, and I am currently preparing a detailed study of its contents. For now, DIAMM has the best inventory of **Onc**, and there is also a partial description of its contents (motets only) in Lefferts 1986, 287–96. See also Williamson 2016, 58–62 and 109–13.

Table 8.3 Rhythmic profiles of **Onc**

| ***Onc*** *number* | *Syllabic semibreves* | *Dots of division* | *Languages of upper voices* | | | *Tenor source* | | | *Rhythmic profile* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Latin* | *French* | *Bilingual* | *Chant* | *Song* | *Unknown* | |
| 1 | | | • | | | • | | | x34x |
| 2 | | | • | | | • | | | 3344 |
| 3 | • | • | | | • | | • | | 2x2x |
| 4* | • | • | • | | | • | | | x2x |
| 5* | • | • | • | | | • | | | x2x |
| 6 | • | • | • | | | | | • | 115 |
| 7 | | | • | | | | | • | 334 |
| 8** | | | • | | | | • | | 333 |
| 9 | • | • | • | | | | | • | x2x3 |
| 10 | • | • | • | | | | • | | 233 |
| 11 | | | • | | | | • | | 3333 |
| 12 | • | • | • | | | • | | | 223 |
| 13 | | | • | | | • | | | 3x3x |
| 16* | • | • | • | | | • | | | 22x |
| 17 | | | • | | | | | • | 333 |
| 18 | | | • | | | • | | | 3344 |
| 19 | • | • | • | | | • | | | 115 |
| 22 | | | • | | | | | • | 33xx |

x = missing part; * = concordance with **Mo**; ** = concordance with **Tours**
Nos. 14, 15, 20, and 21 are not included in this table as they are either textless, a later addition, or only a single voice surviving.

*Civitas/Tu es caelestis/CIBUS* also has one *coniunctura* of four melismatic semibreves in the time of one breve. This use of more than three melismatic semibreves is found in two other motets in **Onc**: in the St Katherine motet *De spineto/Virgo sancta Katherina/AGMINA* (**Onc** 12) and in the voice-exchange motet *Iam nubes* (**Onc** 16). And like **Mo** 8, all four of **Onc**'s song motets (nos. 3, 8, 10, 11) have a rhythmic profile with almost equally active voices.

One of **Onc**'s *chanson* motets has a concordance in the **Tours** polyphonic fragment described by Gordon Anderson in 1982.[36] The **Tours** fragment, too, has

[36] Anderson 1982 described the repertory of **Tours** as dating from the early fourteenth century and of probably English origin. There is one English song using a tenor, labelled 'Wynter'. The table of contents in this manuscript has been updated from Anderson's list in Peter Lefferts's catalogue of English polyphonic sources, since the two folios that were pasted onto the bindings when Anderson examined the fragment have now been separated from the bindings. See Lefferts 2012 (not paginated). There are at least thirteen compositions in this fragment, although some have been completely erased, and there are nine motets with two or more complete voice-parts that allow us to get a good idea of their rhythmic profiles.

Table 8.4 Rhythmic profiles of **Tours** motets

| **Tours** *number* | *Syllabic semibreves* | *Points of division* | *Languages of upper voices* | | | *Tenor source* | | | *Rhythmic profile* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Latin* | *French* | *Bilingual* | *Chant* | *Song* | *Unknown* | |
| 1 | • | • | • | | | | | • | x23 |
| 3 | • | • | • | | | | • | | 2234 |
| 5 | • | • | • | | | | • | | x144 |
| 7* | | | • | | | | • | | 333 |
| 8 | | | • | | | | • | | 333 |
| 9 | • | • | • | | | | • | | 113 |
| 10 | • | • | • | | | | • | | 234 |
| 12 | • | • | • | | | • | | | 224 |
| 13 | | | • | | | | | • | 33x |

x = missing part; * = concordance with **Onc**
Nos. 2, 4, 6, and 11 are not included in this table as they are either palimpsests with erased compositions, textless, or only a single voice surviving.

significant similarities in both notation and repertory to **Mo** 8 and **Onc** (see Table 8.4). As with **Onc** and the '233/333' song motets of **Mo** 8, many **Tours** motets have tenors with French incipits, although in **Tours** all of the upper-voice texts are in Latin. The place of copying and provenance of the **Tours** fragment is unknown. Anderson believed that **Tours** transmitted an English repertory: characteristics he deemed as English include the *pedes* in the tenors, frequent movement in parallel fourths, voice-exchange, and the fact that the motets have assonant openings (that is, all the texts, including the tenors, begin with the same combination of consonants and vowels: for example, the motet ***Ade fin****e perpete/****Ade fin****it misere/****A DEFIN****EMENT*, copied in both **Onc** and **Tours**).[37] Furthermore, the notation and rhythmic profile of many of the **Tours** motets is the upper-voice duet with syllabic semibreves found in the subset of motets shared by **Mo** 8 and **Onc** (i.e. nos. 3, 9, 12, and probably also nos. 1 and 5).[38]

[37] Anderson 1982, 2. Incidentally, this last characteristic – assonance of the textual incipits – is also found in many motets in **Mo** 8, namely 315, 326, 327, 328, 329, 340, and 341. **Mo** 8,310 could be included here, although its French-texted motetus is not assonant. In **Tu** there are five motets with assonant openings but none have assonance with the tenor. In the same article, Anderson discusses a fragment from Prague with three motets that, according to him, date to c.1280–1310, notated in Franconian notation and with Latin texts, again all with assonant beginnings. Anderson 1992, 3, argues, however: 'The structure of these three motets shows considerable differences to those from *F-TO* 925, so that one can postulate a central French origin of these works, notwithstanding the contents of an Englishman's writings in the main codex.'

[38] For example, *Corona virginum/Columba prudencie/T. CUI PROCLAMANT* has two upper voices moving mostly in pairs of syllabic semibreves, and a Latin tenor in perfect longs. There is no need for the scribe to use the *punctus divisionis* here since the syllabic pairs of semibreves function like the modal patterns described

The **Mo** 8 '223' grouping includes two motets from the group of eight **Mo** motets listed by Jürg Stenzl (building on the work of Heinrich Besseler and Jacques Handschin) as demonstrating English musical characteristics.[39] It is important, however, to keep in mind Elizabeth Eva Leach's caveat in her recent reconsideration of one of these 'English' motets:

> Are these motets 'by' English composers, or were they merely sung in England, or were they sung by English singers? And what does 'English' signify when a piece is clearly being transmitted in mainland Europe, sung by singers who are from various parts of Europe, and in a period before the establishment of the modern nation state? The identity of 'Englishness' – given the government of the non-continental part of England by members of the French royal house and the presence of large parts of 'England' (if we call England that which is governed by the English King) on the continental mainland of what is now France – seems rather hard to define.[40]

The repertorial and stylistic connections between **Mo** 8 and **Onc** and **Tours** is not enough to assert particular national origins for their repertories and/or their compilers or the intended use or function of these manuscripts. But I do believe that the links between **Mo** 8 and sources such as **Onc** and **Tours** – with regard to repertorial heterogeneity and stylistic characteristics (structural, rhythmic, and notational) – have potentially much more to tell us than comparisons between **Mo** 8 and earlier fascicles of **Mo**.

Peter Lefferts, in his monograph on the English motet, identified a grouping of nine English works he labelled as 'Petronian-style motets with stratified levels of activity', including the *Caligo/Virgo/TENOR* motet from **Onc** discussed above. His 'Petronian' English motets have a rhythmically stratified texture, an irregular prose-like text in the triplum, a slower-moving motetus, and an unpatterned or

earlier; the only difference between this and the old corpus of **Mo** is that here both voices have syllabic semibreves (so a '224' texture rather than a '234'). *O crux ave spes unica spirans/O crux ave spes unica spiritum/T. OR SUS ALOUETE* has a tenor that is rhythmically varied (as typical for a French *chanson* tenor), yet the two upper Latin-texted parts form a duet, with three syllabic semibreves per breve. The *punctus divisionis* is employed here, and the three-semibreve-per-breve groups are interesting in that they are often repeated notes and often at the beginnings of the poetic line: we have seen this in **Mo** with the two syllabic semibreves that begin phrases in the '234' profile.

[39] Namely **Mo** 8,340 and 341. This list of 'English' **Mo** motets is discussed in Leach 2011. See also articles cited by Leach, including Stenzl 1970; Besseler 1926–7; Handschin 1951.

[40] Leach 2011, 14. Leach suggests a more nuanced study of these motets that would rely less on structural features of pitch and rhythm and more on an integrated musicotextual analysis that emphasises singers, receiving communities, and the use and meaning of individual motets (ibid., 15). Chapter 7 of this volume by Anna Kathryn Grau's essay in this volume proposes motet clusters in **Mo** 8 that takes account of criteria suggested by Leach, that is, through musicotextual analyses that focus on linkages of use and meaning.

simply patterned tenor.[41] Lefferts writes that it is this kind of texture (my '135') that is demonstrated in the newest motets of **Fauv**. For Ernest Sanders the immediate precedents for the *Ars nova* motet 'are to be found not so much in the French double motet of Petrus de Cruce as in the Latin double motet, especially those more progressive of the newer motets in the 1316 edition of the Roman de Fauvel'.[42] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson also agrees on the central importance of the schematic motets in **Mo** 7 and 8, and of the 'old-style' motets of **Fauv**, which deploy an upper-voice duet over a slower-moving tenor. However, although Leech-Wilkinson analysed these **Mo** 7 and 8 motets in terms of their large-scale schematic structure and local details such as note-to-note progressions and voice-leading, he explicitly excluded an analysis of their rhythmic language.[43]

A more detailed analysis of rhythmic language and texture, along the lines presented here for **Mo** 8, but expanded to include the motets of **Mo** 7, **Fauv**, *and* sources of potential English origin – including Lefferts's 'Petronian' motets, song motets, and motets with upper-voice duets – would yield new insights into the distinctions that composers drew between the motetus and triplum voices and text setting in motets, and into the development of the *Ars nova* in the early fourteenth century. Only a greater understanding of the common stylistic language can help to isolate when a motet composer steps out of the zone. The typology offered in this essay suggests one potential fruitful avenue for exploration in assessing the stylistic continuities and discontinuities within motet composition at the turn of the fourteenth century.

## APPENDIX: DISTRIBUTION OF SEMIBREVES IN TRIPLUM AND MOTETUS VOICES OF **MO** 8 MOTETS WITH SYLLABIC SEMIBREVES.

+ sign indicates that this voice-part mostly consists of strings of syllabic semibreves, separated by the *punctus divisionis*, and therefore I have not counted all these semibreves and have simply acknowledged their ubiquitous presence with the + sign.

[41] The nine motets in English sources that Lefferts lists as fitting this description are: *Inter amenitatis* (**Fauv**, **Ym**); *Frondentibus* (**Ob 7**, **Ob 594**); *Rosa mundi* (**Lbl Add 24198**); *Triumphus patet* (**Sl**); *Patrie pacis* (**Cgc 512/543**); *Caligo terre* (**Onc**); *Herodis in atrio* (**DRc 20**); *Duodeno sydere* (**Ob 7**); *Princeps apostolice* (**Cgc 512/543**, **Ob 7**). See Lefferts 1986, 76, Table 11. Lefferts 1986, 79, writes: 'This is the style of the majority of the newest motets in the *Roman de Fauvel*, for instance, although it should be noted that the *Fauvel* motets mostly set regular texts, while as a rule irregular phrases and lack of rhythmic patterning, coupled to syllabic declamation, result in irregularly versified texts in Petronian motets.'

[42] Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Motet, §I: Middle Ages, 1. France, Ars antiqua', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 6 September 2017).

[43] Leech-Wilkinson 1995, 298, did acknowledge that 'rhythmic language may be relevant in grouping or separating pieces'.

Table 8.5a '233' group

| ***Mo*** *number* | *Voice-part* | ***3s desc (mel)*** | ***3s asc (mel)*** | ***3 return (mel)*** | ***2s desc (mel)*** | ***2s asc (mel)*** | ***2s desc (syll)*** | ***2s asc (syll)*** | ***2s repeat (syll)*** | ***3 (syll)*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **309** | motetus | 9 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **312** | motetus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **321** | motetus | 3 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | **12** | **0** | **1** | **29** | **12** | **1** | **0** | **0** | **0** |
| **309** | triplum | 13 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| **312** | triplum | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | + | + | + | 0 |
| **321** | triplum | 8 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| | | **22** | **1** | **0** | **8** | **6** | **6+** | **3+** | **13+** | **0** |

Table 8.5b '235' group

| ***Mo*** *number* | *Voice-part* | ***3s desc (mel)*** | ***3s asc (mel)*** | ***3 return (mel)*** | ***2s desc (mel)*** | ***2s asc (mel)*** | ***2s desc (syll)*** | ***2s asc (syll)*** | ***2s repeat (syll)*** | ***3 (syll)*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **306** | motetus | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **322** | motetus | 10 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **334** | motetus | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **335** | motetus | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **342** | motetus | 6 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | **29** | **1** | **0** | **15** | **16** | **0** | **1** | **0** | **0** |
| **306** | triplum | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| **322** | triplum | 16 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **334** | triplum | 9 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 1 |
| **335** | triplum | 20 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| **342** | triplum | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | | **62** | **1** | **1** | **12** | **31** | **12** | **6** | **20** | **1** |

Table 8.5c '223' group

| ***Mo*** *number* | Voice-part | ***3s desc*** ***(mel)*** | ***3s asc*** ***(mel)*** | ***3 return*** ***(mel)*** | ***2s desc*** ***(mel)*** | ***2s asc*** ***(mel)*** | ***2s desc*** ***(syll)*** | ***2s asc*** ***(syll)*** | ***2s repeat*** ***(syll)*** | ***3*** ***(syll)*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **310** | motetus | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| **319** | motetus | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| **328** | motetus | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| **340** | motetus | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| **341** | motetus | 8 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| | | **17** | **1** | **0** | **12** | **11** | **19** | **12** | **11** | **0** |
| **310** | triplum | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 0 |
| **319** | triplum | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| **328** | triplum | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| **340** | triplum | 3 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| **341** | triplum | 10 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | | **19** | **0** | **0** | **14** | **7** | **25+** | **11+** | **2+** | **0** |

Table 8.5d '135' group

| ***Mo*** *number* | *Voice-part* | ***3s desc*** ***(mel)*** | ***3s asc*** ***(mel)*** | ***3 return*** ***(mel)*** | ***2s desc*** ***(mel)*** | ***2s asc*** ***(mel)*** | ***2s desc*** ***(syll)*** | ***2s asc*** ***(syll)*** | ***2s repeat*** ***(syll)*** | ***3*** ***(syll)*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **305** | motetus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **307** | motetus | 4 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **311** | motetus | 10 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| **314** | motetus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **316** | motetus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **317** | motetus | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **330** | motetus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **332** | motetus | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| **338** | motetus | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | **18** | **1** | **0** | **107** | **57** | **1** | **2** | **2** | **0** |
| **305** | triplum | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 0 |
| **307** | triplum | 20 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| **311** | triplum | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 14 |
| **314** | triplum | 3 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 2 | + | + | + | 0 |
| **316** | triplum | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 18 |
| **317** | triplum | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 29 |
| **330** | triplum | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 12 |
| **332** | triplum | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | + | + | + | 36 |
| **338** | triplum | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | + | + | + | 17 |
| | | **48** | **1** | 13 | **4** | **6** | **5+** | **2+** | **3+** | **129** |

CHAPTER 9

# *Je le temoin en mon chant*: The Art of Diminution in the Petronian Triplum*

DAVID MAW

## MONTPELLIER 8 AND THE PETRONIAN REPERTORY

One of the distinctive features of Montpellier fascicle 8's predominantly unica collection of motets is a seemingly innovative and even experimental tendency. The increased freedom of the triplum in the texture of three-voice writing was important to this. The composition of a new triplum for **Mo** 7,282 in **Mo** 8,330 is a clear indication of the centrality of such voice-parts to innovation. In some cases the stylistic novelty is apparent in the greater continuity of triplum phrases compared with the shorter-breathed statements of the lower voices (e.g. **Mo** 8,305 and 316); but the triplum may also move consistently faster than the lower voices (as in **Mo** 8,311). The extreme manifestation of the tendency is in the motets using the rhythmic and notational developments of Pierre de la Croix (Petrus de Cruce) (**Mo** 8,317, 332, and 338). In these motets the tenor is slowed down to move mostly in perfect longs, while the triplum is accelerated through the frequent use of short semibreves.

Petronian style is a feature shared with fascicle 7. Jacobus cited the tripla of the two motets commencing that fascicle (253 and 254) as illustrations of the innovation in Petrus's style.[1] If the Petronian style is gauged in the light of these citations to depend essentially on the subdivision of the breve into more than three semibreves, then the incidence of the style in the Montpellier codex, and perhaps then of Petrus's compositional output, is easy to reckon. Ernest Sanders and Peter Lefferts followed this criterion in the *New Grove* article on Petrus de Cruce,[2] identifying a repertory of eight pieces, five uniquely in fascicle 7 (253, 254, 264, 298, and 299), two uniquely in fascicle 8 (317 and 332), and one that is found with variants in both fascicles (**Mo** 7,289/8,338).

* I am grateful to Professors Catherine A. Bradley, Karen Desmond, Warwick Edwards, and Solomon Guhl-Miller for their contributions towards this essay. All translations are the author's own. Citations from the texts of the motets are taken from Stakel and Relihan 1985.

[1] Bragard 1955–73, 7:37–8. I refer neutrally here to Jacobus, but the likelihood of a strong liégeois connection for the author of *Speculum musicae* (hereafter *SM*) has been compellingly reasserted in Wegman 2016.

[2] Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Petrus de Cruce', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 6 September 2017).

Although Jacobus identified Petrus specifically with the extension of Franconian practice in respect of the semibreve,[3] he noted that Petrus did this 'sometimes'.[4] The implication, then, could be that Petrus's compositional practice was not limited to the exploitation of this characteristic. In his survey account of the thirteenth-century motet, Richard Crocker proposed a broader Petronian repertoire likewise extrapolating from the two pieces identified by Jacobus but not restricted to compositions using higher subdivisions.[5] Neither essay associated 7,294 with Petrus, despite the presence of two 4-groups in the triplum.[6] Certainly there are other features of this motet that differentiate it, notably the rhythmic homogeneity of the texture, the greater incidence of triads in the harmony, and the use of an instrumental tenor (*CHOSE TASSIN*). However, as the presence of Petronian subdivisions is the only characteristic securely identified with Petrus's compositional practice, it is advisable not to discount it prematurely. If this motet was indeed composed by Petrus, then it is likely that the two others (7,292 and 297) similarly based on instrumental tenors were as well, despite the lack of Petronian subdivisions in them; and therefore Crocker's larger list of Petronian pieces is further justified.

The broader basis of Crocker's notion of Petrus's style may be important for a full assessment of the composer's aims and achievements. The concern of this essay, however, is specifically with the use of the higher subdivision groups in the

[3] When Jacobus states that Franco himself seemed to have exceeded his theory in practice regarding division of the breve, this is not to suggest that Franco initiated the practice but rather to suggest that he endorsed it, thus positioning the Petronian style firmly within the frame of Franco's theory. 'Also, I think a triplum was heard in Paris composed, so they said, by Master Franco in which more than three semibreves were put for one perfect tempus' (*Item videtur mihi Parisius audivisse triplum a magistro Francone, ut dicebatur, compositum in quo plures semibreves quam tres pro uno perfecto ponebantur tempore*). Bragard 1955–73, 7:38.

[4] 'For that estimable singer, Petrus de Cruce, who wrote so many beautiful and fine songs in measured rhythm, and followed the technique of Franco, sometimes put more than three semibreves for a perfect breve' (*Nam ille valens cantor, Petrus de Cruce, qui tot pulchros et bonos cantus composuit mensurabiles et artem Franconis secutus est, quandoque plures tribus pro perfecta brevi semibreves posuit*). Bragard 1955–73, 7:36. 'Sometimes' is ambiguous here as to whether it means that breves were divided this way in a given piece at some places but not in others, but that this happened in each of Petrus's pieces at some point or other; or that breves were divided in this way in some of his pieces but not in all of them.

[5] Crocker 1990, 670. Crocker did not include 298, but otherwise his list contained all the motets given by Sanders and Lefferts, adding 255 and 297 from fascicle 7 and 316 and 330 from fascicle 8. Of these, 255 and 330 certainly manifest the rhythmically stratified texture of 253 and 254. The triplum of 255 also has a number of melodic similarities with the other motets (see in particular 299 and 317) and includes in its poetic text a line nearly identical with one in 317 (see below). The use of a non-plainchant tenor and more homogeneous rhythmic combination of motetus and tenor differentiates 297 from the others, as do the faster tenor rhythm and closer rhythmic mesh of motetus and triplum in 316. Crocker might also have proposed 262, where the rhythmic differentiation of voices is similar to that in 255 and 330. The motetus text has been ascribed to Richard de Fournival, but this need not count against Petrus's composition, as both men had links with Amiens.

[6] Subdivisions of the breve are referred to by the number of semibreves in the group: 2-group, 3-group, and so on up to 7-group.

Petronian triplum, what will be referred to henceforward as 'Petronian groups'. The analysis is focused, therefore, on the pieces identified by Sanders and Lefferts, with the addition of 294. It aims to develop an understanding of the Petronian style through study of the Petronian semibreve groups and their use in the motets of the seventh and eight fascicles. The consequences of their use for word setting are considered, and a compositional chronology is drawn out. The aesthetic of the style is inferred from self-reference in motet texts.

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

As an initial orientation for discussion of Petronian style, a general understanding of the place of Petronian groups within the motets is valuable. For this purpose, a statistical analysis is useful. Although a crude tool for examining individual pieces, it offers valuable insights into the repertory as a whole. The statistics from which the following observations are drawn are given in Table 9.1. Within the group of eight motets, there is a high level of consistency in the use of semibreve subdivision. In six of the nine, such subdivision falls within a range of 57–77 per cent of the possible breves.[7] All but two of the motets use 2- and 3-groups in the motetus parts as well, so that the rhythmic differentiation of the upper voices derives from the greater incidence of this movement in the tripla and the occasional use of higher subdivisions.[8] The core of the style consists of 4-, 5- and 6-groups, which are found in 264, 289/338, and 317. Motet 254 omits 4-groups and uses the only 7-group, while 332 avoids 6-groups; but, broadly speaking, these seem to represent the same style. By contrast, 253, 298, and 299 use only 4-groups, and may be seen as constituting a sub-group, one less markedly removed from the Franconian mainstream.

Petronian groups are not integrated into the movement of the tripla. There is a sharp difference between the incidence of the subdivisions of the breve into two and three recognized by Franco and the higher ones that Petrus introduced. In every motet, 2- and 3-groups predominate, with 2-groups the most frequently occurring, more or less closely followed by 3-groups.[9] The Petronian groups do not follow progressively on from this but are used to a significantly lesser degree. The corpus is largely consistent in this, though in 264, 294, and 289/338, low incidence in 3-groups means that their use is similar to that of the Petronian groups. Motet 317 is noteworthy for the comparatively frequent use of Petronian groups as

[7] The six are 253, 264, 298, 299, 317, and 332. Subdivision of the breve is notably lower in 254 and 289/338, but this does not lead to a reduction in contrast between the voices of the motets. However, the lower level of subdivision in 294 does correlate with a more integrated texture.

[8] In 264 and 332, the motetus uses only 2-groups, thereby enabling sharper contrasts of rhythmic movement between them and the tripla. In contrast, 298 and 299 move closer towards homogeneity of movement, which is distinguished in the former case by a single 4-group in the triplum and in the latter case only by the greater frequency of the 4-groups in the triplum (nine) as against the motetus (one). In 294, the triplum moves more consistently quickly than the two lower voices and is the only one to use 4-groups.

[9] Motet 298 is the only one in which 3-groups dominate.

Table 9.1 Statistical analysis of breve subdivision in tripla of Petronian motets in **Mo**.

| | *Fasc 8* | | | *Fasc 7 & 8* | *Fasc 7* | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *S-group/Motet* | *332* | *317* | *338 only* | *338/289* | *289 only* | *299* | *298* | *294* | *264* | *254* | *253* |
| | | | | | *Franconian* | | | | | | |
| 2 | 45 | 27 | 1 | 30(1) | 4(2) | 46 | 32(4) | 35(1) | 34(1) | 36(2) | 75(6) |
| 2 plica | – | 4(4) | 1(1) | – | 2(2) | 5(5) | 4(4) | – | 1(1) | 3(3) | 1(1) |
| 2 hocket | 15 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| 3 | 25 | 22(6) | 2(2) | 11(3) | – | 21(4) | 43(18) | 6(5) | 11 | 21(11) | 34(14) |
| 3 plica | – | – | – | – | – | – | 4(4) | – | 2(2) | 3(3) | 3(3) |
| | | | | | *Petronian* | | | | | | |
| 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3(1) | 9 | 1(1) | 2 | 3(1) | – | 6 |
| 5 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 | – | – | – | – | 2 | 4 | – |
| 6 | – | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | – | – | – | 2(1) | 1 | – |
| 7 | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| | | | | | *Totals* | | | | | | |
| **Petronian** | **10** | **14** | **3** | **5** | **4** | **9** | **1** | **2** | **7** | **6** | **6** |
| **Bs ornamented** | **95** | **67** | **7** | **46** | **10** | **81** | **84** | **43** | **55** | **69** | **119** |
| **Intraphrasal Bs** | **123** | **87** | **17** | **124** | **17** | **111** | **132** | **87** | **96** | **150** | **186** |
| Duplum subdivision | 2, 2p | 2, 2p, 3 | 2, 3 | 2, 3 | 2, 3 | 2, 3, 4 | 2, 2p, 3, 3p | 2, 2p, 3 | 2 | 2, 3, 3p | 2, 2p, 3, 3p |

Numbers in brackets are breves setting a single syllable ('florid' setting).
Intraphrasal Bs excludes the cadences, which are never ornamented.
S = semibreve; B = breve; p = plica.
NB. Rokseth's transcription of 332 is assumed at perfection 23.

a whole and of 6-groups in particular; but even here the Franconian groups clearly predominate. Overall, then, while the tripla are characterized by a high degree of semibreve movement, the more rapid motion of the Petronian groups is reserved for infrequent use as a special effect.

Perhaps the most striking initial observation concerns the use of subdivisions in relation to word setting. Whereas 2- and 3-groups are quite often set floridly[10] – notably so in motets 253 and 254 – this practice is very uncommon with the Petronian groups: there are just four instances in the tripla, affecting 4-groups in 264, 298 and 289 (but not its copy, 338 in fascicle 8) and a 6-group in 264.[11] The situation is counter-intuitive: an obvious hypothesis for the Petronian style is that it arose through the improvisation of embellishments to existing tripla. Individual syllables would have been decorated melodically in florid setting. The end of the first phrase of 264 – where two Petronian groups follow one another directly, each set to a single syllable – is what might therefore be expected as the standard procedure in this style (see Example 9.4a below). Indeed, this kind of setting is common in the motets of **Tu**, where 4-groups are often used to embellish both motetus voices and tripla. In a number of cases, it occurs there in copies of the Petronian motets from **Mo** (see Example 9.2a below).[12] Such setting is the exception in **Mo** itself, and the greater part of the time the semibreves of the groups carry individual syllables. If the melodic practice manifested through the Petronian groups did first develop through performance embellishment, its use in the motets of **Mo** shows that it had ceased to be ornamental and had been fully integrated into the structure.

## IMPROVISATORY IMMEDIACY OF PETRONIAN GROUPS

Preliminary examination of the corpus has shown that the Petronian groups are not simply an extension of existing elaborations of the triplum but constitute a distinct part of the music. This invites analysis of them in their own terms. Example 9.1 presents a 'lexicon' of all the different Petronian groups found in the corpus. It does not resemble a table of conventional ornaments or divisions, as the groups are numerous and even the most commonly occurring of them (4ii, 4vii, 5v) are not found in more than four of the motets. The Petronian style as a whole is held together not by the recurrence of specific elements in themselves but by their generic resemblance one to another. The groups are melodically homogeneous. Conjunct motion, both passing and auxiliary, is most common. Leaps are infrequent and used only in descent.[13] The strong melodic similarity between the figures suggests a common origin, supporting the idea that all the motets were the work of Petrus de Cruce.

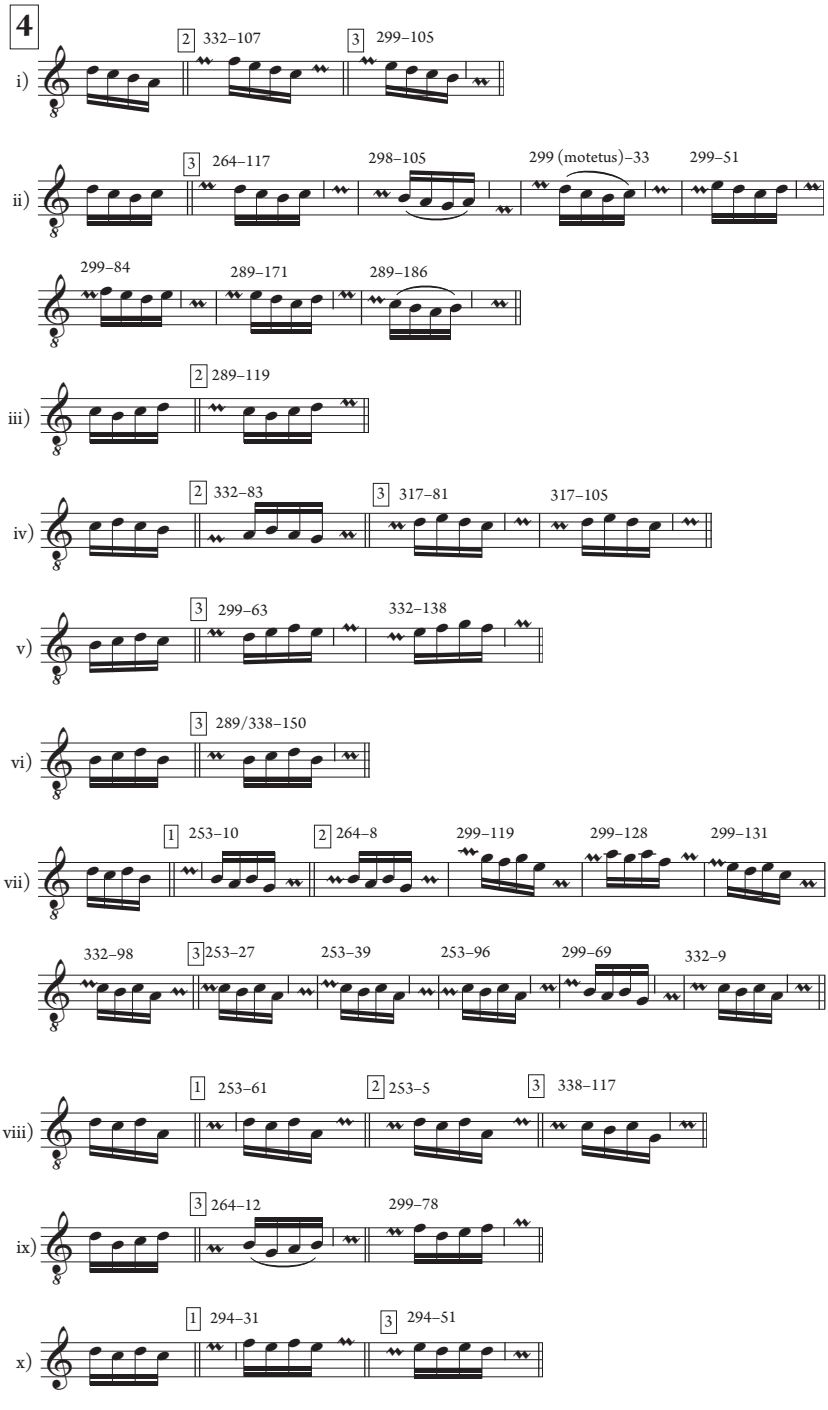
[10] 'Florid' setting occurs where a syllable takes several notes but the duration it expresses is one within the rhythmic system of the musical notation. The motetus of 253, for example, has a varied musical rhythm but the syllables are set throughout in the long–short pattern of the first rhythmic mode. For a fuller exposition of florid setting and the distinction between it and melismatic setting, see Maw 1999, 1:203–6.

[11] The single instance of a 4-group in a duplum (in 299) is also florid.

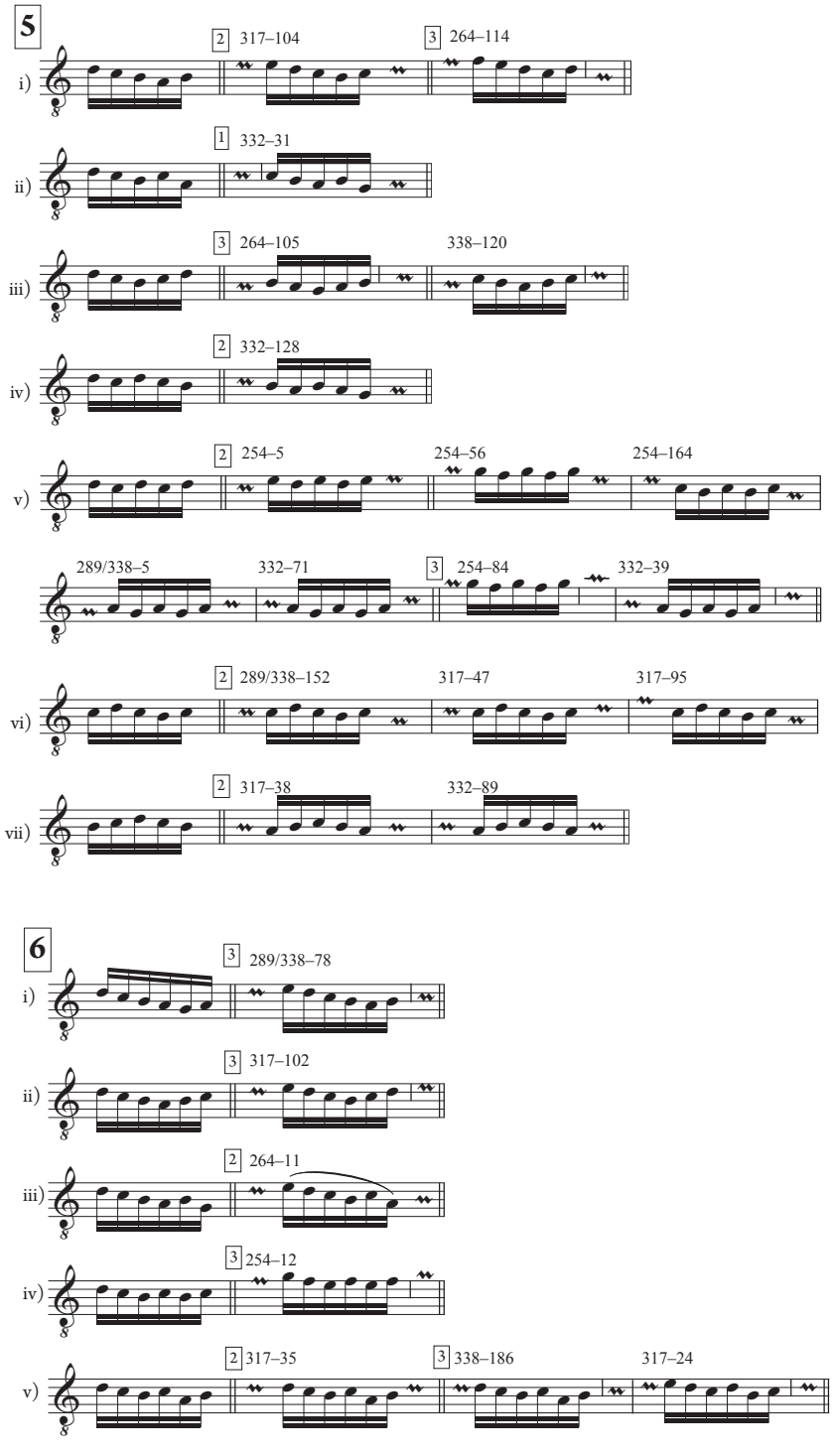
[12] This style of setting is typical also of the Petronian-style motets in **Onc**.

[13] The third in 4vi, 4vii, 4ix, 5ii, 6iii, 6v, and 6x; the fourth in 4viii.

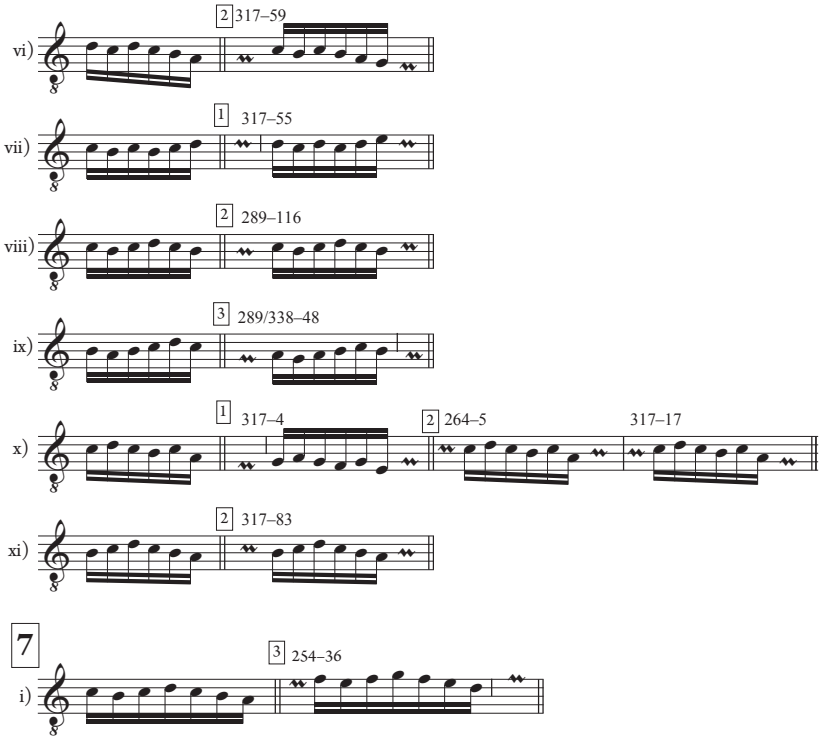
Ex. 9.1 'Lexicon' of Petronian groups in **Mo**. Occurrences of groups are organized according to their metrical position within the perfection; they are identified by the number of their breve within the triplum



Ex. 9.1 *continued*



Ex. 9.1 *continued*



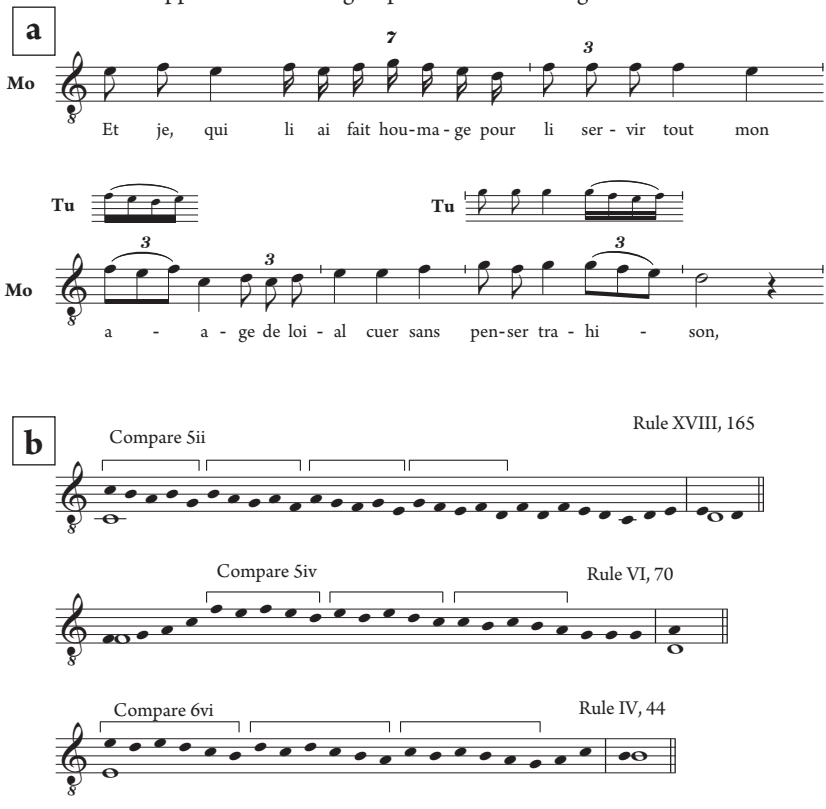

That said, Petronian groups are not exclusive to **Mo**. The Petronian motets of **Mo** that are copied into **Tu** undergo some small melodic changes, including the addition of Petronian 4-groups (Example 9.2a).[14] The added groups do not affect the word setting and are thus set floridly, giving the impression of embellishments that were essayed in performance and then subsequently adopted into the notated form of the piece.[15] The independent repertory of **Onc** also uses Petronian groups. The 4ii group again features prominently (especially in **Onc** 16, *Iam nubes/Iam novum/SOLEM*); and 4iv as well as three 5-groups (5i, 5iii, 5v) appear once or twice each. It is striking that all of the groups here also occur in the central repertory of **Mo**. The most frequent of them (4ii) is prominent there too. The most common of the 5-groups in **Mo** (5v) overlaps as well. Petronian groups, most of which concord with those in the **Mo** corpus (4i, 4ii, 4iii, 4vii, 4ix, 4x, 5i, and 5iii), can also be found in other motets in English sources.[16]

[14] 4ii most often (12 of the 15), with 4i and 4vi being used once and twice respectively.

[15] The 6-group and 4-group at the end of the first phrase of 264 become a 5-group and a slightly different 4-group in **Tu** 10, but this looks like a corruption of the version in **Mo** rather than a deliberate recomposition. It is noteworthy, though, that these two florid Petronian groups should be unstable in transmission.

[16] See *De flore martirum* (**Ob 7**), *Mulier magni meriti* (**Cgc 512/543**), *Orto sole serene* (**DRc 20** and also in **Cgc 512/543**), *Rosa delectabilis* (**Onc**), and *Triumphus patet hodie* (**Sl**).

Ex. 9.2 Petronian groups in performance practice:
a. Added 4-groups in **Tu**
b. Apparent Petronian groups in the Vatican Organum Treatise.




There is a clear bias towards 4ii in the Petronian repertory. Its ubiquity may indicate that it was not a specifically Petronian figure: it occurs three times in florid setting within the Petronian motets. Perhaps some of the other shared figures (the 4-groups in particular) were also not specifically Petronian. This raises the prospect that the Petronian style had its origin in a performance practice of ornamentation and elaboration that was formalized into notated music. The influence of instrumental music mentioned in this connection by Anonymous IV, who also refers to subdivision of the breve into four, may have been a factor here.[17] The frequent recurrence of Petronian groups at exactly the same pitch, both within and between

In all except *Rosa delectabilis* the groups are set syllabically. There are also five 4-groups and one 6-group that are not in the Petronian corpus. Additionally, the motets use several other semibreve-figures that stand outside the normal Petronian style.

[17] See Wilson 1990, 258, and Yudkin 1985, 14. The 'et cetera' that follows in the text may indicate that subdivision of the breve into more semibreves also occurred. If that is so, then the novelty of Petrus de Cruce's achievement was the notation and texting of such subdivisions, rather than their use as such. It would nonetheless remain plausible that he was substantially responsible for fashioning his own repertory of figures, just as jazz musicians choose and shape their 'licks'.

motets, could indicate fixity deriving from association with specific instrumental fingerings.[18] However, it is worth also holding open the possibility that an ongoing practice of organal improvisation on chant influenced the Petronian tripla. There are some figural similarities between the Petronian groups and the formulae recorded in the Vatican Organum Treatise (Example 9.2b).[19] The Petronian tripla follow the harmonic precepts of this treatise very closely (meeting the tenor at the beginnings of perfections almost exclusively at the unison, fifth or octave). Furthermore, it is possible that these two potential improvisatory sources of the style were less culturally distant from one another than might initially appear to be the case.[20]

For all that, the possible existence of a stock of figures used in un-notated performance cannot fully explain the Petronian style as found in the motets of **Mo**. While 4ii, 4vii, and 5v are used frequently, half of the figures occur only once,[21] and the rest are used just two or three times each. A high level of invention is apparent, one that points to a specifically compositional input beyond the recording of performance practice; and the already cited unity in the style of the figures indicates a strong compositional hand.

Because of their infrequent use, the groups stand out in the tripla and their appearances mark distinctive stages in the melodic process and form. The individuality of the groups is a significant part of this. Most of the motets have at least one group that is not found in any of the others (253, 298, and 299 do not). Motets 264 and 338 repeat no groups within them,[22] while 289, 294, 317, and 332 have just single repetitions of one, one, four, and two figures respectively. Yet there are three motets (253, 254, and 299) that employ significant repetition of groups; and the contrast between repetition of groups and its avoidance delimits the range of effects obtained from the groups.

The differing uses of Petronian groups in 253 and 264 demonstrate compositional procedures at the limits of this range. Motet 253 employs just two (similar) groups (4vii and 4viii in Example 9.1), repeating them both. The groups appear only in the first half of the piece, being distributed gradually through phrases one to seven; and they are used to create melodic echoes within a continually evolving line. Motet 264 does not repeat any of its seven groups (4ii, 4vii, 4ix, 5i, 5iii, 6iii, and 6x in Example 9.1). They frame the piece: four in the first phrase, and three in the last two.[23] There is a progressive development worked through the groups,

[18] 4ii: on d in 264 and 299 and on e in 289 and 299; 4iv: on d at both occurrences in 317; 4vii: on b in 253, 264, and 299, and on c three times in 253 and twice in 332; 4viii: twice on d in 253; 5v: twice on g in 254 and on a twice in 332 and once in 289/338; 4vi: on c twice in 317 and once in 289/338; 4vii: on a in 317 and 332.

[19] Godt and Rivera 1984, $264_2$, $264_4$, 303, 307, and 319.

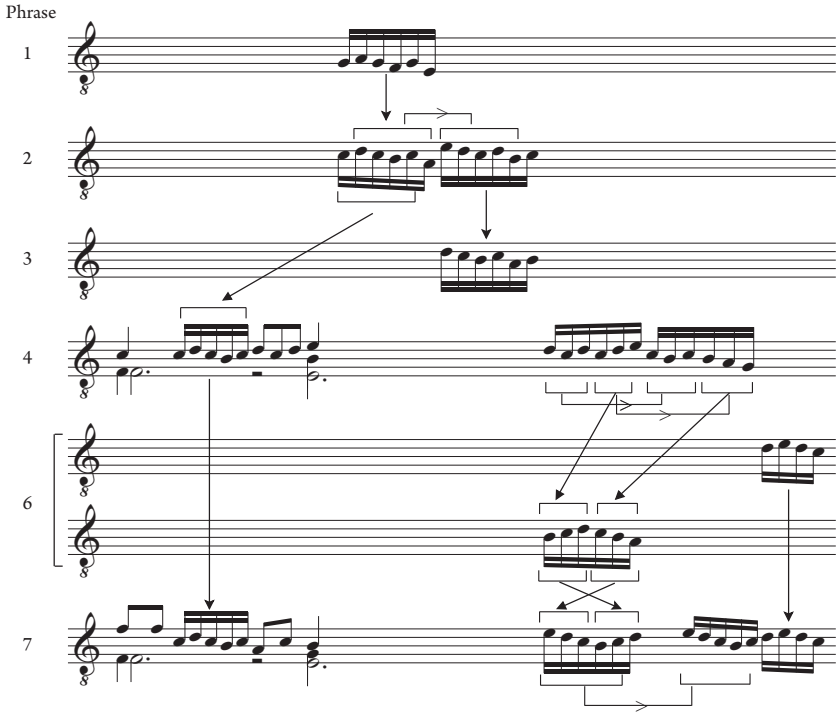
[20] Christopher Page's study of the work of Parisian performers of organa suggests that they were active in secular music beyond their ecclesiastical employment. Robert of Courson's prohibition against their use of 'minstrelish little notes' (*scurriles notule*) implies that they were fluent in them. Page 1989, 134–54.

[21] 4iii, 5ii, 5iv, 6i, 6ii, 6iii, 6iv, 6vi, 6vii, 6viii, 6ix, 6xi, and 7i.

[22] Motet 338's elimination of 289's repetition of 4ii is indicative of this tendency towards individuality.

[23] Only the final phrase of 317 equals this high incidence of groups.

Ex. 9.3 Use of Petronian groups in **Mo** 8,317.




as each is changed into the next. However, the discontinuous presentation of the groups means that the listener is more likely to perceive a kaleidoscopic circulation of melodic ideas.

The processes illustrated by these two examples tend to be mixed together in different ways by the other motets. Motet 317 demonstrates the most sophisticated such mixture (Example 9.3). It uses the greatest number of different groups (ten) and repeats four of them. The groups are placed more or less regularly through the seven phrases of the triplum, though they omit the fifth and reach a climactic concentration in the seventh. Repetition is used at the beginning and end to create continuity between successive phrases and to link a phrase in the middle of the motet with one near the end. This framework is developed through the transformations between the other groups: processes of excerption, addition, and combination are used. The interweaving of simple repetition and the subtle processes of transformation creates the delicate melodic poise of this triplum. It is a virtuoso essay in the use of Petronian groups.

No two perfections of 317's triplum have the same melodic outline, despite the tenor's cycling four times through its melody and despite the numerous moments of melodic repetition in the motetus. The Petronian groups are harnessed to the continual quest for melodic reinvention that animates the triplum. The writing may have related to the style of actual improvised performance: it attempted to fix compositionally the expressive immediacy of such performance. The instability in the subdivision of the breve and the variations in the melodic content articulate that quality.

## MODERNITY AND DIFFICULTY IN PETRONIAN WORD SETTING

The near total adherence to syllabic setting for the Petronian groups means that the declamation partakes in the same volatility of movement as the melody. Yet the melodic lines of the tripla integrate specific types of florid setting for the 2- and 3-groups as a contrast.[24] Recitational style (with syllables changing on repeated pitches) is also used for 2- and 3-groups,[25] but not at all for the Petronian ones.[26] Thus, syllabic setting differentiates the use of Petronian groups from that of the 2- and 3-groups that belong to the base Franconian style, causing them to stand out more forcefully. They are presented as elements grafted into the Franconian triplum to make it modern.

The crucial role of syllabic setting in the rhythmic structure of the motets is revealed in the exploitation of a rhythmic figure characteristic of the Franconian style comprising two semibreves followed by two breves (SSBB).[27] The rhythm was a stock part of late thirteenth-century style, designated by Magister Lambertus as his sixth mode and derived through *fractio modi* of the first mode by Anonymous IV.[28] Its incidence in the Petronian motets is variable, but it is a strong presence in the two known to be by Petrus (253, 254).[29]

The widespread appearance of this rhythm and the presence of others that look like variants of it suggest that it may have had a role in the genesis of the Petronian style. Its occurrence at the end of the first phrase of motet 264 in connection with Petronian groups supports the conjecture (Example 9.4a). A simpler version of the phrase can be imagined. The two breves might then have been successively elaborated through

[24] The florid 3-groups are almost all a descending stepwise figure, found extensively in the Franconian motet repertory (the two exceptions, both in 289/338, are a rising stepwise figure and a lower-auxiliary figure). The 2-groups (a descending step with a rising plica and a rising step) occur less frequently and not at all in 299 and 317 (the only exception is a descending fourth in 264).

[25] The recitational style occurs infrequently, most often with SS and SSB figures and at the strong initial pulses of perfections. It commences more than half of the phrases in 254 and 299; and five of the motets (253, 254, 264, 299, and 317) begin with it.

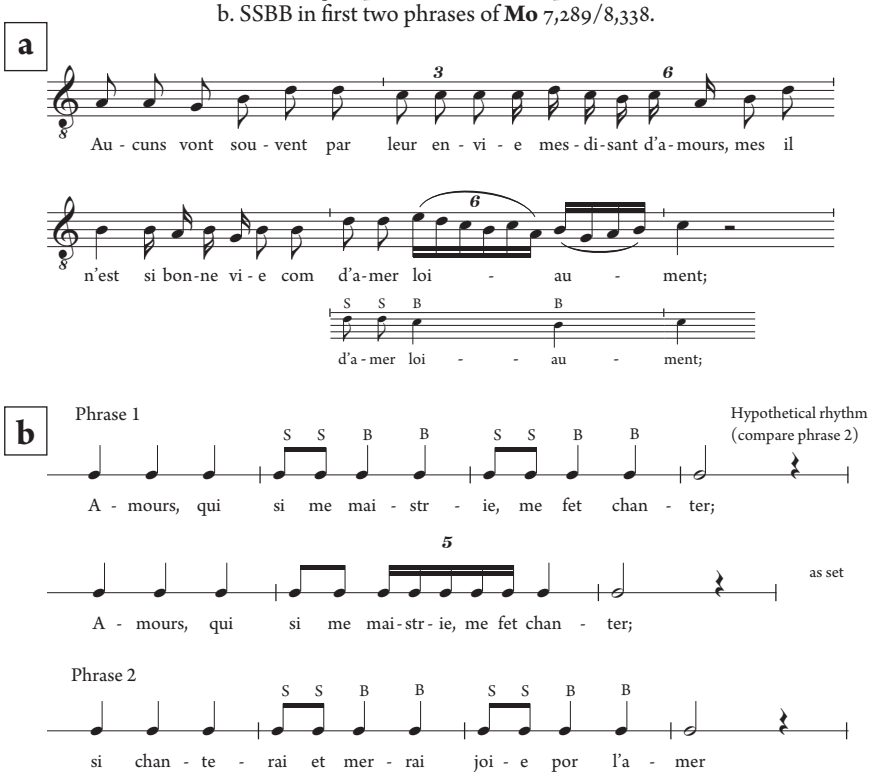
[26] Jacobus cites a third triplum using Petronian groups, by a different composer, that subdivides the breve into eight and nine semibreves, and these groups use direct pitch repetition (Bragard 1955–73, 7:38). Sanders and Lefferts, 'Petrus de Cruce', *Grove Music Online*, suggest that this other composer would have been the younger Johannes de Garlandia referred to by Robertus de Handlo. The style of the groups in this citation, with their chant-like melodic contours, seems to be different from that of Petrus's compositions.

[27] It is used notably in the tripla of motets in fascicle 3 (e.g. 37, 38, 39, 40) and fascicle 5 (e.g. 76, 77, 84, 102, 103, 143), but also appears elsewhere in **Mo**.

[28] For Lambertus, see Chapter 8 by Karen Desmond in this volume, p. 153. For Anonymous IV, see Reckow, 1967, 1:37; Dittmer c.1959, 27. Although the Franconian system made it easier to notate this kind of rhythm without reference to mode, the modal system remained important as a way of thinking rhythmically. Franco acknowledges this when he points out the possibility in his system of changing mode from perfection to perfection.

[29] It occupies almost half of the triplum of 253 (phrases 8 and 13 are entirely composed of it, and phrase 10 is dominated by it) and about a third of the tripla in each of 254, 298, and 289/338. It plays only a small role in the other motets of fascicle 7 and is not found in either of the motets unique to fascicle 8.

Ex. 9.4 Declamatory use of SSBB:
a. Florid Petronian groups and SSBB in first phrase of **Mo** 7,264
b. SSBB in first two phrases of **Mo** 7,289/8,338.




the improvisatory practices suggested above until they reached the form given as 4- and 6-groups respectively. In this case, the evolution stopped there; but to create the true Petronian style would have required development of the poetic text so that these semibreve groups were set syllabically. Eight syllables would need to be inserted.[30]

In the light of this, a modal conception of the rhythm (accepting it, like Lambertus, as a modal formula) provides a structural basis for the rhythmic invention in the tripla. The Petronian groups can often be understood as elaborations of an underlying modal rhythmic structure in the SSBB pattern. At the beginning of 289/338 (Example 9.4b), SSBB provides the substance of the second phrase. It is also used in the first phrase, but there the first of its two breves has been elaborated with a 5-group. The elaboration absorbs the syllables of a notional second statement of the

[30] The quasi-evolutionary account of the setting here is intended to illustrate a general hypothesis about the emergence of the Petronian style rather than to explain the compositional process of this particular motet. Something like the phenomenon of troping is imagined, with melody being expanded first through the introduction of music (the Petronian groups) and then through the addition of words set to this music. In the case of 264, the same opening phrase contains earlier a 6-group and a 4-group, both setting syllabically. The setting here represents a juxtaposition of two different styles, modern (syllabic) and old (florid), rather than an incomplete stage of a stylistic evolution.

figure that would have made the first phrase the same length as the second. From this it is possible to understand the clear inclination of Petronian groups towards placement on the second and third breves of perfections.[31] The breves of SSBB were the obvious points for figural elaboration within the structure of the figure.

The reverse seems to be the case in 317 and 332. They do not use the SSBB pattern, but there is still some evidence for this kind of modal rhythmic elaboration using a BSSSS pattern. Here, though, the Petronian subdivisions seem to work not as elaborations of the slower breve groups but as intensifications of the semibreve pairs.[32] Overall, the rhythm of these tripla is more rhythmically diverse than those of fascicle 7 and suggests a move towards a freer rhythmic conception not bound by modal characterization.

Syllabic rhythm serves to set the Petronian groups into relief. It reserves floridity and recitation for the established 2- and 3-groups, and it maintains a modal-rhythmic structure that the Petronian groups disrupt. The syllabically set Petronian groups unsettle the declamation as much as the melody, asserting their presence as a modernizing element within the style.

The word setting that results from this kind of declamation represents a conundrum. The motetus voices continue established principles of verse structure and setting, characterized, for example, by the two-voice French motets in fascicle 6. Here, a poetic line corresponds to a musical phrase, with the rhyme falling at the final accent of the phrase. If a line is run directly into another within the same phrase, the rhyme of the first is nonetheless marked by placement in an accented rhythmic position. Several of the Petronian motetus parts are structured in regular line-lengths, which the modal rhythm of the musical setting turns into balanced phrases.[33] The others use more complicated schemes but adhere to the same basic principles.[34]

If the motetus parts identify the Petronian motets as belonging to an established tradition of word setting, the tripla are far from clear on this. In part this is because the structure of the verse being set is often obscure. The manuscript copies do not indicate the ends of lines, and, as the verse is irregular – as is generically characteristic of the motet – there are no strong expectations against which to gauge observations.[35] Finding the rhymes is crucial; but deciding what is a rhyme, or how

[31] Thirty-three of the groups are placed on the third breves of perfections and twenty-eight on second breves. Only five occur on the first breves. The groups are associated with continuative and anacrustic functions.

[32] See for, example, the third phrase of 317, which begins with BSSSS twice and then uses it twice more with the initial pair of semibreves replaced first by a 6-group then by a 5-group. The rhythm of this first substitution occurs twice more later in the motet. Further variants substitute a 3-group for the initial 2-group (found twice) and 3-groups for both 2-groups (once). Similar rhythms, and further variants, are used in 332.

[33] Motet 298 uses an alternation of seven- and eight-syllable lines that reverses at the midpoint; the Latin motetus voices of 264 and 317 both employ regular seven-syllable lines.

[34] The one deviation from normal practice is the treatment of disyllabic rhymes, which tend to be set with an accent on the linguistically unstressed final syllable (the two nine-syllable lines in 299 are set as decasyllables).

[35] This irregularity is a distinctive part of motet poetry and serves to mark it out from other kinds of verse when it is collected as a poetic genre in its own right, as, for

long a poetic line should be, is not always straightforward. Sometimes there seem to be too few rhymes,[36] other times too many.[37] Given the difficulties identifying the intraphrasal line-divisions in such instances, it is reasonable to ask whether such divisions matter. The long units defined by the phrases are always clearly articulated in both music and verse. Perhaps this is as far as verse form relates to the musical setting. There are, however, clear indications that this does not do justice to the situation and that a more complex sensibility underlies it.

Motet 299 contains two phrases each setting four lines with the same, regular versification (Example 9.5a): three of six syllables and a final one of seven. In the first phrase, each line is set to a perfection, with the rhyme syllable coinciding with the accented beginning of the next perfection. The regularity of the poetic form and its reflection in the musical setting indicate that the intraphrasal lines are structurally significant here. It is noteworthy, then, that the second phrase does not respect the poetic form to the same extent. The rhyme of the first line is brought forward by a semibreve, falling at the least accented position of the perfection; and the rhyme of the third line falls a semibreve later, again at a weak point in the perfection. So where the first phrase looks as if its rhythm was derived from the words, the second looks as if the music and words were conceived separately and fitted together with apparent indifference for their respective forms. Given the clearly careful word setting of the first phrase, it is implausible that the second should have resulted from negligence. The shifting of the rhyme just before or just after its normal position must have constituted a deliberate effect: an avoidance of the regularity in the poem through the placement of accents in the 'wrong' place.

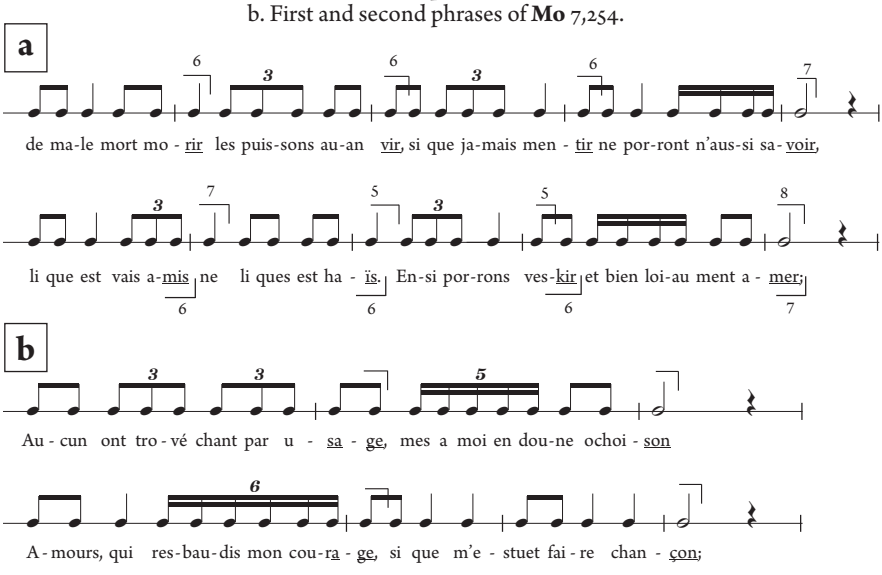
Something similar happens at the beginning of motet 254. There are two pairs of lines of the same length in alternating rhyme: a9′ b8 a9′ b8. The setting of these pairs differs markedly (Example 9.5b): in the first, the structure of the two lines is faithfully marked in the setting, the rhyme of each placed at the beginnings of

example, in the chansonnier **Douce** (fols 243v–247v). There the line-ends are marked by dots. It is often supposed that the irregularity of the verse derived from the task of setting words to the music of pre-existent clausulae that was written initially without such an end in mind. It would, though, have been no very difficult task to adapt clausulae to set regular verse, if that had been desired. The irregularity must therefore have been a quality sought in the pieces.

[36] **Mo** 289 is representative of the dilemma. The musical phrases vary in length from seven to nineteen breves, with the shortest setting eight syllables and the longest twenty-seven syllables. Twenty-seven syllables are too many to constitute a single line. Fourteenth-century poetic theory recognized twelve syllables as the maximum (Langlois 1902, 2), though in practice lines of fourteen or even sixteen have been recognized by modern scholars (Tobler 1984, 103). Tischler in his transcription construes the twenty-seven syllables as three lines of twelve, nine, and six syllables, creating more credible lengths coinciding with syntactic breaks. However, the final syllables do not rhyme. The final syllables of lines eleven, sixteen, and eighteen also lack rhymes.

[37] Tischler 1978 gives the form of the words setting the fourth phrase of 332 as a7′ a4′ a7′ a9′, using rhymes in *–ete* (he adds *et* to fit an additional note in the music, but requires then that the usual elision of the preceding *–e* not be observed; Rokseth more plausibly eliminates the first *d* semibreve to fit the verse). Rokseth's transcription gives a7′ a4′ a2′ a4′ a9′ on the basis of the same rhyme. One could quite reasonably propose a4′ a2′ a4′ a2′ a4′ a9′ . The musical setting prefers none of these.

Ex. 9.5 Changing settings of repeated versification schemes:
a. Ninth and tenth phrases of **Mo** 7,299
b. First and second phrases of **Mo** 7,254.




subsequent perfections; in the second, the rhyme of the first is brought forward by a semibreve, so that the accent at the beginning of the perfection falls on the unstressed final syllable.

The Petronian tripla sustain a delicate balance between comprehensible word setting in the conventional manner and a new, deliberately difficult style of declamation, in which the structure of the verse may be obscure in the poem itself or rendered obscure by the setting. The care with which the syllabic rhythm is handled in the music makes it clear that this difficulty is a carefully calculated element in the music's aesthetic posture. The difficulty is part of the music's modern style.

## COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS: THE CONCORDANT MOTET 289/338

The presence of parallel transmission of the same motet between fascicles 7 and 8 but with significant differences between the copies offers some concrete evidence of compositional practice. If, as is argued below, the seventh and eighth fascicles were closely connected to the Petronian repertory, then there is a distinct possibility that Petrus was responsible for the rewriting found in 338.

Four perfections of the tenth phrase in the middle of the motet are completely changed (Example 9.6a).[38] The counterpoint of these versions differs significantly

[38] The moment is a difficult one as there are notational problems in both copies: in 289, there are two breves too many (they probably need to be read as semibreves: the difference between the two symbols is not always clear in the manuscript); in 338, a punctus that ought to show the division of the seven semibreves into two breve-groups is missing. Tischler's transcription (which is followed here) presents

(Example 9.6b). That in 289 continues the pattern of shadowing the bass of the texture in octaves and (less often) fifths. The version in 338 casts the melody in a longer-term process moving between an octave on D and a fifth on C. Both versions are idiomatic, but that in 338 – because of its longer range melodic control independent of the movement of the tenor – is the subtler one and suggests a revision of the earlier, more conventional version.

Rhythmically, both versions are based on SSBB, continuing the rhythmic theme announced at the beginning of the motet. Motet 289's version inserts Petronian groups into the two statements of SSBB preceding the cadence. These have the effect of ornamenting and prolonging the C sonority rather than leading onwards. The impetus is eased by the passage from the 6-group to the 4-group; and both perfections come to a halt on the third breve. Motet 338 achieves a different dynamic. It uses two straight SSBB groups, a varied form ending with a 4-group, and a freer final perfection that culminates in a 5-group. This version brings the triplum's unaccompanied link (the fourth perfection) in line with the similar moments earlier in the motet (perfections 16 and 26), where the Petronian group is also used at the end of the perfection to provide momentum into the cadence (Example 9.6c).

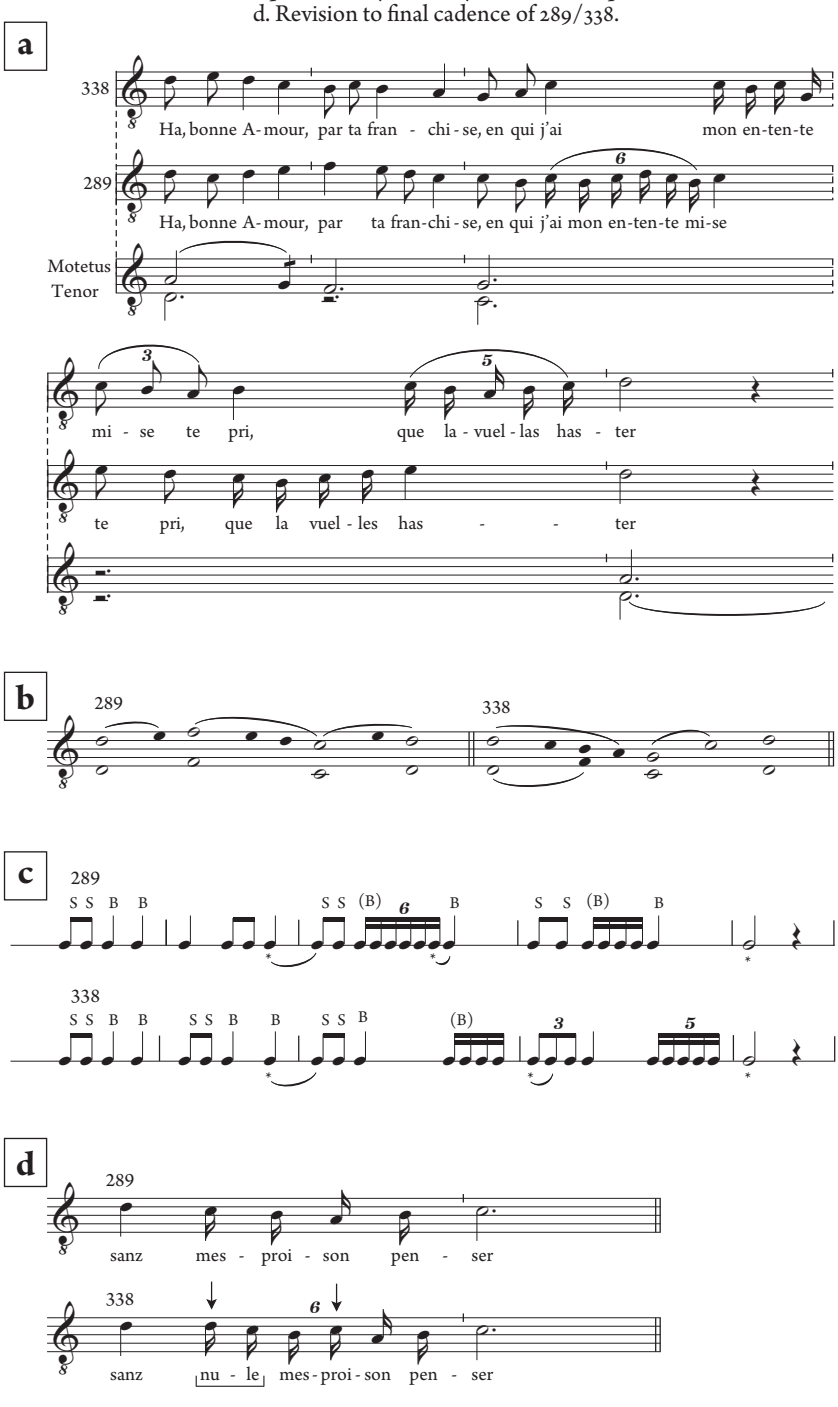
In the motet's final cadence, changes were made to both the text and the music (Example 9.6d). Motet 289 uses 4ii, recalling cadences in 264 and 299. The revised cadence of 338 uses 6v, which also occurs twice in 317, the end of the second phrase offering a strong comparison. The revision requires the addition of two syllables (the word *nule*). Textually, the addition is trivial and unlikely to have been the cause of the revision to the music. Rather it looks as if the word was added to fit the music. The example is significant because it underlines the importance of syllabic setting to the style and demonstrates (albeit on a very small scale) the possibility of achieving this through addition of words to pre-existent music.

One aspect of 289 that is significantly affected by the changes is its content of Petronian groups. The use of a cadence figure also found in 317 suggests revision in the light of a later stage in the style's development. The other changes, though, look as if they were more retrospective: 289 is the motet with the highest incidence of Petronian groups that are unique to it (five of the nine); the revisions of 338 use groups that are found in other motets (253, 264, and 317) and thereby reduce this level to a par with other motets containing unique figures.[39] The revision goes against the direction of the later fascicle's development of more inventive figuration. The reason for it might be the composition of melody to fit the words, which was perhaps not the usual way of working in the style: the challenge of doing this led the composer to rely on ready-made melodic materials. By implication the general compositional process of the tripla was to a large degree driven by melodic creativity, with words being fitted subsequently.

a resolution of the textual problems entirely consistent with the style. Rokseth's transcription differs only in the grouping of semibreves in the penultimate perfection of the tenth phrase of 289, giving a 4-group followed by a 2-group.

[39] The other motets with unique Petronian groups are 254 (two out of six), 264 (one out of seven), 317 (four out of fourteen), and 332 (two out of ten).

Ex. 9.6 Revisions to **Mo** 7,289 in **Mo** 8,338:
a. Comparison of texts of tenth phrase
b. Comparison of contrapuntal structures of tenth phrase
c. Comparison of syllabic rhythms of tenth phrase
d. Revision to final cadence of 289/338.



## TOWARDS A CHRONOLOGY OF THE PETRONIAN MOTET

The issue of priority posed by comparison of the two versions 289 and 338 and their relationship to 317 introduces the larger question of the chronology of the Petronian repertory. A possible order of composition (289–317–338) has emerged. Consideration of the SSBB figure has also pointed to a chronological tendency, with its prominence in 253 and 254 contrasting with its absence from 317 and 332 suggesting a move from earlier to later composition. In fact, a chronological dimension is present in one of the primary witnesses to the Petronian style, Jacobus's account:

> [*Petrus*] *primo incepit ponere quattuor semibreves pro perfecto tempore in triplo illo: S'amours ewist point de …*
> *Postea idem ampliavit se et posuit pro uno perfecto tempore nunc quinque semibreves, nunc se, nunc septem in triplo illo: Aucun ont trouve …*[40]

> For at first it was [Petrus] who began to put four semibreves for a perfect tempus, as in this triplum [cites 253] … Subsequently the same man extended the practice and put for one perfect tempus now five semibreves, now six, now seven, as in this triplum [cites 254].

Jacobus indicates that 253 was the first motet to try out high subdivisions of the breve and that 254 followed on from it. This is a plausible claim. Motet 253 uses only 4-groups and these are absent from the second half of the piece. In part, a change in the texture for the final twenty-four perfections accounts for this: the tenor repeats its melody in phrases of the second perfect *ordo* of the first rhythmic mode, bringing the voice-parts into a closer rhythmic harmony. The Petronian groups point up the textual contrast between the two halves of the motet.

Motet 254 seems, then, like a riposte to 253. It omits 4-groups altogether and focuses on the extended subdivisions. Its tenor begins with the same pattern as 253, but the repetition of the melody uses straight longs, thereby concentrating the rhythmic invention in the triplum. The motet's technique for handling Petronian groups is also an advance on that of 253: the first four phrases present the subdivisions progressively (5-group in phrase one, 6-group in phrase two, 7-group in phrase four), deriving these through a transformation process; then the fifth, seventh, and twelfth phrases revert to the repetition techniques used by 253 restating the initial 5-group. Motet 254 could have been the second Petronian motet that Petrus wrote. The placement of 253 and 254 side by side in **Mo** would then have represented their innovative status and compositional history.

The order of 264, 299, 317, and 332 in the manuscript also seems plausible. Motets 264, 299, and 317 reduce the movement of their tenors to successions of perfect longs, the tenor melody stated twice in 264 and 299 and four times in 317. There is a gradual development through the three in the handling of Petronian groups. In 264, they serve a framing function, four in the first phrase and three in the last two phrases. In 299, they are end-weighted, introduced only in the fifth phrase

[40] Bragard 1955–73, 7:36–7.

and thereafter occurring consistently until the two in the final phrase. In 317, the groups are fully integrated into the rhythmic language with no bias of distribution. Petronian groups are similarly well integrated in 332, though this is now an essay in rhythmic virtuosity, with hocket and a complex tenor rhythm mixed in.

Motets 298 and 289/338 do not fit into the chronological sequence so obviously. With just a single Petronian group, 298 is not a Petronian motet in the sense that the others are, although the characteristics that it manifests are consistent with the style. It opens the way for considering motets without Petronian groups as also by Petrus, but its position within the chronology is hard to assess for this reason. If the manuscript positions it according to compositional chronology, then it shows that the sequence of the motets did not follow a simple developmental trajectory. With 289 the problem is its combination of mature characteristics – a complex tenor pattern (like 332) and fairly even distribution of Petronian groups (like 317 and 332) – with others that seem earlier: unaccompanied phrase initiations (like 254) and SSBB syllabic rhythm. This poise could have been a motivation for its later revision. The two placements for it in the manuscript could be accepted as reflecting compositional chronology, on the grounds that they fit an order for the motets as a whole that is otherwise plausible.

With 294 the primary question is whether it is a composition by Petrus. Its triplum is similar to those in the other motets, albeit with generally shorter phrases; and its contrasting approach to texture and harmony could simply be the consequence of a different sort of tenor. In keeping with the Petronian quest for melodic renewal, its single repeated group (4x) is unique to the motet (though close to 5iv and 5v). The syllabic setting of the groups is characteristic of the Petronian style in **Mo**.[41] The ninth phrase begins in the same way as phrase 8 of 253. The F major arpeggiations (breves 10–12 and 79–84) recall moments in 298 (breves 13–15 and 141–4) and 317 (breves 19–21 and 94–6). None of these features counts definitively in favour of Petrus's authorship, but together they suggest its likelihood (and thus enhance the possibility that he wrote 292 and 297 as well). As regards chronology, the relatively late date consistent with the argument developed here fits with the motet's more progressive harmonic style, low incidence of SSBB,[42] and tendency to syllabic setting overall.

As far as the Petronian style is concerned, the motets of fascicle 7 look as if they represent a phase of discovery and experimentation; those in fascicle 8 seem to constitute a phase of mastery. The concordant motet 289/338 straddles the two. This is reflected in the distribution of Petronian groups between the motets of the two fascicles. Most of them are shared across the two fascicles, but some are exclusive to the repertories of one or other.[43] The forty figural occurrences of fascicle 7's

[41] However, we know from Jacobus that at least one other composer adopted this approach: see n. 26 above. See also n. 16 above.

[42] Expressing the SSBB perfections as a percentage of the total intraphrasal perfections, the highest is 253 (52%); then come 254, 289/338, and 298 (34–36%); 294 is comparatively low (21%), while 264 and 299 (16%, 11%) are the lowest above the two (317 and 338) that do not use it at all.

[43] 4ii, 4iii, 4ix, 4x, 6iii, 6iv, 6viii, and 7i are found only in the motets of fascicle 7; 4iv, 5ii, 5iv, 5vii, 6ii, 6v, 6vi, 6vii, and 6xi are found only in the motets of fascicle 8.

seven motets generate eight distinctive figures, whereas the thirty-two of fascicle 8's three motets generate nine, which suggests a greater richness of figural invention in the mature works.

If the Petronian motets were indeed included in fascicles 7 and 8 in the order of their composition, then why they were not assembled as a single group? Given that they were not, how might their chronology relate to that of the other pieces with which they are interleaved? These questions cannot be explored here, but the importance of the Petronian motets to fascicle 7 is clear from their positioning at the beginning and end of that collection (the supplements aside). Given that 289/338, 294, 298, 299, 317, and 332 are unica, then it seems likely that someone close to Petrus de Cruce and his circle assembled this collection.

## *LE TRAMBLER, LE FREMIR ... LE PALLIR*: THE PETRONIAN AFFECT

The innovation of the Petronian style was the result not of an inexorable development within the domain of mensurable polyphony but of a self-conscious renewal of musical style. The Petronian groups are highly individualized and help to create an improvisatory style of triplum focused on the uniqueness and immediacy of the moment. They do this by breaking through and disrupting the received melodic style. The Petronian groups are carefully fashioned intrusions into the Franconian triplum. The novelty of their style was clearly important, as Petronian groups occur in the first phrases of most of the motets (excepting 294, 298, and 299), signalling the innovation at the outset.

The inspiration of this novelty is announced by the triplum of 254:

*Aucun ont trouve chant par usage,*
*mes a moi en doune ochoison*
*Amours, qui rebaudist mon courage,*
*si que m'estuet faire chancon*

> Some have written songs from habit; but Love, who re-emboldens my desire, gives me reason for it, so that I have to create a song

It is not habit that motivates song here but 're-emboldened' desire. It was a cliché of trouvère song that love made the singer sing, but its recurrence in these songs (see also 253 and 289) acquired a new significance as justification for a novel and experimental musical style. The usual style might suit others composing out of habit, and implicitly not strongly inspired by love; but such were the effects of love on this singer that the new style of music was necessary. The implication is equally that to love truly is to sing in this way. At the same time, the displacement of responsibility for the new style away from the singer to love suggests a defensive posture: the strangeness of the music could have been off-putting to listeners unfamiliar with it and the exigencies of love supplied a reason, a guarantee to the listener that it was worth overcoming the strangeness.

The strangeness and unfamiliarity of the music render the experience of it difficult. Indeed, a degree of difficulty seems to have been wilfully written into the

tripla, with their avoidance of melodic repetition, the obscurity of their poetic design, and the shifts of that design in and out of focus with the musical structure.[44] Such difficulty is cognate with the poetic meaning. The path of love is not an easy one. The triplum of 317 makes the case for suffering in the cause of love:

*car cil, qui veulent d'amour joir,*
*doivent de cuer souffrir*
*les dous maus, que bone amour leur fait sentir …*
*ne ne doivent pas douter le trambler, le fremir*
*ne de la colour le pallir*
*en souspirant;*
*car bone amour plus puet merir*
*que nus ne porroit deservir*
*en bien servant …*
*je le temoing en mon chant.*[45]

> for those who wish to enjoy love's pleasures must first suffer in their hearts the sweet pains that true love makes them feel … and they should not shrink from trembling, quivering and going pale through sighing; for true love can reward more than anyone could merit just from serving well … I testify to it in my song.

The testimony of the song is not just its words but also its music. The Petronian style captures the 'trembling, quivering and going pale through sighing' that this motet attests as necessary for the full appreciation of love. The style is motivated by a desire for intense musical expression of precisely these qualities. The slowing down of the perfection that created the time necessary to include Petronian groups meant that the abstract theological three-ness of the long had an attenuated presence in the experience of the music. The emphasis was put rather on the changing divisions of the breve and their reflection of human feeling.

The Petronian compositions of fascicle 8 were at the forefront of motet writing at the time, refining the artistry of those in fascicle 7. The figural art of the Petronian style was not part of a development towards the *Ars nova* but an autonomous and satisfying compositional achievement in its own right. The Petronian motets are firmly rooted in the dialogic conception of the genre. The tripla offer critical dialogues on the sentiments of the motetus parts: the motetus is inspired by love, the triplum feels betrayed by love (253); the motetus believes love tantamount to sin, the triplum thinks the true lover a paragon of virtue (264); the motetus

[44] The aesthetic of difficulty ties in with Richard Taruskin's characterization of the thirteenth-century motet as a new *trobar clus*. Taruskin 2005, 221–8.

[45] The recurrence here of words found in the triplum of 255 (*trambler et fremir me fait et la colour palir*) adds weight to the stylistic grounds for including that motet in Petrus's output. See n. 5 above.

hopes for love from the one he desires, the triplum is obsessed by the envy of others (299); and so on. The musical texture maximizes the differentiation of its three strands: the traditional slow-moving chant tenor; the lyric motetus; and the modern triplum, snaking its way subversively around the two. Standing at the apex of the thirteenth-century motet tradition, the Petronian works are the fullest realization of its combinatorial prowess.[46] It is easy to see why Jacobus held them in high esteem and regarded them as more advanced than those that followed.[47]

[46] See the account of the 'art of mélange' in Taruskin 2005, 233–6.

[47] Bragard 1955–73, 7:36–9.

CHAPTER 10

# How Rhythmically Innovative Is Montpellier 8?

MARY E. WOLINSKI

As distinctive as the eighth fascicle of **Mo** seems, with its superb illumination and Franconian notation, it is important to be aware that its musical repertory is stylistically consistent with that of the seventh fascicle. Two new styles of motets appear in both fascicles 7 and 8: the motets with Petronian semibreves and those with *sine littera* passages. Certain features of modal rhythm that occur in fascicle 8 also appear in motets of the seventh fascicles, and some of these features are even found in the so-called old corpus of the first, third, and fifth fascicles. It has been argued that the rhythms of late thirteenth-century motets as found in the seventh and eighth fascicles were breaking away from the mid-thirteenth-century modal system. In pointing out symptoms of modal decline, Friedrich Ludwig characterized melodies in the new style as 'emancipating themselves from modal rhythm', and he evoked 'the breakdown of the old modal system' in referring to the transition from modal to mensural notation.[1] Heinrich Besseler identified modal decay with the theory of Franco of Cologne, the rhythmic stratification of polyphony, the increasing importance of the semibreve with the consequent slowing of note values, the use of more extensive hocketing, and the anticipation of the *Ars nova* imperfect mode in certain pieces prior to the fourteenth century.[2] This scenario is still accepted today.[3] Whether or not the rhythmic modes were in a state of decline is a matter of debate. Identifying some of the ways in which the rhythms of **Mo** 8 compare with rhythmic practice in the other fascicles and how these features are explained in theoretical treatises of the late thirteenth and, possibly, fourteenth centuries will help provide a basis for evaluating the position of **Mo** 8 in an era of stylistic change.

## HOCKETING AND *RESECATIO*

Hocketing, the quick and unusual alternation of tones and rests, is a technique that is found as early as the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, in the polyphony attributed to Pérotin. Rapid hocketing was rare at that time, but it can be regarded as one of various types of interruptions of the normal rhythmic

[1] 'Folgen in den neuen, von der modalen Rhythmik sich emanzipierenden Melodien einer longa drei or ein Vielfaches von drei breves, so bilden je drei breves eine "perfectio" für sich' and 'die Loslösung von der alten modalen Rhythmik (und damit gleichzeitig die Umwandlung der Quadrat- in die Mensuralnotation)'. Ludwig 1930, 253 and 254, respectively.

[2] Besseler 1926–7, 152–3, 176–7, and 183.

[3] See, for example, Busse Berger 2002, 631; Ernest H. Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Motet, §I: Middle Ages, 1. France, Ars antiqua', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 6 September 2017).

Table 10.1 The six rhythmic modes of Johannes de Garlandia

| *Mode* | *Rhythmic Pattern (L=Long, B=Breve)* | *Rhythmic Pattern in Modern Notation* |
|---|---|---|
| First | L B L B | ♩ ♪ ♩ ♪ |
| Second | B L B L | ♪ ♩ ♪ ♩ |
| Third | L B B L B B | ♩. ♪ ♩ ♩. ♪ ♩ |
| Fourth | B B L B B L | ♪ ♩ ♩. ♪ ♩ ♩. |
| Fifth | L L | ♩. ♩. |
| Sixth | B B B B B B | ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ |

motion of Notre-Dame polyphony. Theorists classified this motion at its most conventional into six rhythmic modes, one aspect of which consisted of patterns of durations (illustrated in Table 10.1). The basic unit of time, by which the note values of the modes were measured, was called the *tempus*. The first, second, and sixth modes are the 'proper' or 'correct' modes (*modi recti*), in which long durations consist of two *tempora* and short or breve durations consist of one. In the modes 'beyond the proper measure' (*modi ultra mensuram*) – the third, fourth, and fifth – longs have three *tempora* and breves either one or two.[4] In the first half of the thirteenth century the interruption of normal rhythmic motion by hocketing was simple and infrequent and was limited to the first, second, and fifth modes, which appear to have been the earliest in the development of measured rhythm.[5]

In the second half of the thirteenth century, innovations in notation and in measuring the durations of polyphonic music appeared simultaneously with a surge in new hocketing practices. These included the division of modal note values into shorter notes and rests, the use of semibreves, hocketing in all the modes, and the practice of beginning and ending melodic phrases not just at the start of a modal series of durations but also in the middle and at the end. Theorists described these developments, in general, as transformations of modal rhythmic patterns. Theoretical descriptions took at least two main approaches. Lambertus (shortly before 1279), Franco (possibly around 1280), and the Anonymous of St Emmeram (1279) thought of hocketing as the cutting up of notes and phrases.[6] Lambertus

[4] The terminology is used by Johannes de Garlandia: see Reimer 1972, 1:36–7 (sent. 6–15).

[5] See Roesner 1990, 48–56.

[6] The unique copy of the treatise of the Anonymous of St Emmeram is dated 1279. On its dating, see Yudkin 1990, 32–3. Because Lambertus is named and criticized by the

likens hocketing to cutting off a tempus from the beginning or end of a perfection.[7] Anonymous IV, on the other hand, extends Johannes de Garlandia's scheme of imperfect modes, an approach which will be discussed presently.

*Resecatio* is the term used by the Anonymous of St Emmeram for the cutting-up of a series of note values into notes of shorter duration combined with rests (hocketing).[8] *Resecatio* in what he calls the long modes, or *longi modi* (third, fourth, and fifth), entails breaking the note values into shorter notes and rests. In fifth mode the succession of long–long (with each long worth three *tempora*) can be cut up into breve–long-rest, breve–long-rest (with the breve worth one *tempus* and the long worth two), or breve-rest–long, breve-rest–long. The Anonymous of St Emmeram gives as an example the beginning of the *In seculum longum*: a short, untexted, polyphonic composition (clausula) in which the tenor, or lowest voice, maintains a fifth-mode rhythm, while the two upper voices move from fifth mode at the start to a hocketing (or cut-up) second mode. In this case of *resecatio*, the Anonymous of St Emmeram allows that 'the short mode [i.e. the second mode] may regularly and naturally arise from the long'.[9]

This new type of hocketing clausula may have been the type of music that Jerome of Moravia had in mind in his late thirteenth-century edition of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*.[10] He includes the hocket as a type of discant, together with the conductus and motet,[11] and defines *ochetus* in a way that is also true of the clausula: it has various consonant melodies without text on a tenor in any rhythmic mode found in motets.[12] The most famous hocketing clausula was the *In seculum longum* along with its modally transformed version, *In seculum breve*. This is the undoubtedly influential piece that Anonymous IV attributed to 'a certain Spaniard' and called 'le hoket Gallice'.[13] Its distinctiveness merited the *longum* version a place at the

Anonymous of St Emmeram, his treatise was written before 1279. Yudkin 1990, 36, 341, identifies him with the Parisian magister Lambertus who made a change in his will in 1270. Franco is more difficult to place. His teachings are not described by the Anonymous of St Emmeram, but he is named 'Franco de Colonia' in the manuscript of the treatise of Jerome of Moravia, dated 1280–9. See Huglo 1999 and Frobenius 1989.

[7] 'Whence it should be noted that "cut-up" music, that is, this *hoccitatio*, is made according to a proper voice and an omitted voice, that is, whenever there is a *tempus* cut back from some perfection.' Meyer and Desmond 2015, 113 (sent. 256).

[8] On the definition of *resecatio*, see Frobenius 1988, 1, 9–10.

[9] 'eo quod brevis modus a longo regulariter et naturaliter oriatur'. Yudkin 1990, 230–1.

[10] For a survey of the literature and a discussion of the concepts of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, see Pinegar 1991, 51–6.

[11] 'Item alius conductus, alius mothetus, et alius est ochetus'. Lobrichon and Meyer 2012, 179 (lines 118–19).

[12] 'Item ochetus est super tenorem uniuscuiusque modi mothetorum absque prosa diversus et consonus cantus'. Ibid., 181 (lines 176–7).

[13] 'The example of a semibreve rest is clear to those who know how to reduce or change one mode into another, like those who say [they can make] the second mode out of the fifth and reduce the upper voice or voices to the same second mode, as certain Parisians have done and still do out of "In saeculum", the French hocket, which a certain Spaniard composed, etc.' Yudkin 1983, 54. 'Exemplum pausationis

beginning of **Mo**'s fifth fascicle. Other examples in **Mo** of hocketing in the long fifth mode occur in the first fascicle (**Mo** 1,2, *Ja n'amerai/IN SECULUM* and 1,5, *Portare*), the fifth (**Mo** 5,137, *Ja n'amerai/Sire dieus/IN SECULUM*), and the eighth (**Mo** 8,324, *Quant se depart/Hé, cuer/IN SECULUM*).

Similarly, the first, second, and sixth modes, which the Anonymous of St Emmeram calls the short modes (*breves modi*), may be hocketed with *resecatio*, usually by means of semibreves. For example, in the first mode, which normally proceeds in the pattern of long–breve–long–breve, etc., hocketing with *resecatio* breaks down the breve into smaller note values, as in long–semibreve–semibreve–rest. Cases of imperfect sixth mode including semibreve rests appear in the Anonymous of St Emmeram's examples of hockets with *resecatio* in the short mode,[14] and in Franco of Cologne's example of a hocket with the breves divided into semibreves.[15]

In **Mo** 8, four motets feature *resecatio* with shorter note values. **Mo** 8,311, *Se je chant/Bien doi amer/ET SPERABIT* presents an exciting combination of modes. The tenor moves in a mixture of sixth and second mode. In a rare case of hocketing between the tenor and motetus, these voices break up the underlying pattern of sixth-mode breves into unequal pairs of semibreves (see Example 10.1). Ludwig considered this motet to be a precursor of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century isorhythmic motet because of the large-scale repetition of note values and rests in the upper voices, in accordance with the threefold repetition of the tenor.[16] Thus, the hocketing passage of Example 10.1, consisting of one perfection of hocketing between the motetus and tenor, is repeated with different pitches, but with the same rhythm, three times when the tenor repeats. Although hocketing in the tenor is unusual, it is not unprecedented. For example, the early thirteenth-century motet *In Bethleem Herodes/IN BETHLEEM* also has hocketing between the tenor and motetus, which occurs in each of the two statements of the tenor.[17] One could say that *In Bethleem Herodes* is a small-scale example of repeated hocketing with *resecatio*, while **Mo** 8,311 is a grander composition.

Two other motets from the eighth fascicle feature the cutting up of first and sixth modes into shorter tones and rests. **Mo** 8,340, *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM* and 341 *Huic ut placuit/Huic ut placuit/[HUIC MAGI]* are transmitted together as a pair and are considered in more detail below. In addition to dividing the triplum breves into Petronian semibreves, **Mo** 8,332, *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM* breaks up the sixth-mode breves of the triplum and motetus into hocketing breves and semibreves on five occasions. A distinctive passage occurs at the start of the second statement of the tenor, illustrated in Example 10.2.

semibrevis patet eis, qui sciunt reducere vel facere mutando de uno modo alium ut illi, qui dicunt secundum modum de quinto et reducunt superiorem vel superiores ad eundem modum secundum, ut quidam Parisienses fecerunt ad adhuc faciunt de In saeculum, le hoket Gallice, quod quidam Hyspanus fecerat etc.' Reckow 1967, 1:61 (lines 7–12). Recent articles about this composition include Wolinski 2015 and Galán Gómez 2015.

[14] Yudkin 1990, 226 (line 17), 230 (line 23).

[15] Gilles and Reaney 1974, 78–9 (chap. 13, sent. 6 and ex. 80).

[16] Ludwig 1978, 551.

[17] See Wolinski 2013, 393-8.

Ex. 10.1 **Mo** 8,311, *Se je chant/Bien doi amer/ET SPERABIT*, fol. 358r.

ex - am - plaire Et de tou - tes la
de - ser - - - vi. Rai - son
flour De bon - té, biau - té et va - lour.
de ce di - rai pour quoi

Ex. 10.2 **Mo** 8,332, *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM*, fol. 382v.

car en li ne faut
set mon cuer qui le

Hocketing with *resecatio* in the short modes is not, however, unique to **Mo** 8. Sixth mode with *resecatio* appears in two motets in the seventh fascicle: **Mo** 7,277, *Coument se poet/Se je chante/QUI PRENDROIT*,[18] and, in the seventh fascicle's second supplement, **Mo** 7,302, *Theoteca virgo geratica/Las, pour qoi/QUI PRANDROIT*. *Resecatio* in the short modes was also employed in **Mo** 3,39, *Povre secors/Gaude chorus/ANGELUS*,[19] and **Mo** 1,3, *Ja n'amerai/IN SECULUM*, where the hocket by the Spaniard is transformed into the second rhythmic mode and provided with a French quadruplum. The Anonymous of St Emmeram, writing by at least 1279, cited both *Povre secors* and the Spanish *In seculum breve*.[20]

[18] For a discussion of this motet in regard to its hocketing without breaking up the words of the text, see Schmidt-Beste 2013, 236–8.

[19] Described in Wolinski 2013, 398–405.

[20] Yudkin 1990, 224 (lines 37–9), 226 (lines 17–20).

## THE IMPERFECT RHYTHMIC MODES AND *ENTITIO*

THE theory of the perfect and imperfect rhythmic modes provided the earliest framework for explaining how a melodic phrase begins and ends in relation to the modal pattern. This concept is useful here in explaining hocketing and other irregular uses of tones and rests from a medieval viewpoint. Johannes de Garlandia described it rather simply. Using the concept of *ordo* – a pattern of note values that begins and ends in a certain way – he declared that a perfect-mode *ordo* ends on the note value with which it began, while an imperfect-mode *ordo* ends on a different value.[21] As can be seen in Table 10.2, in the first perfect mode each *ordo* ends on a long, which is also its first note value, followed by a breve rest, which is its second note value.[22] The second perfect mode follows the opposite pattern of longs and breves. An *ordo* in the first imperfect mode ends on the breve followed by a long rest, which causes the next *ordo* to begin with a breve in the manner of the second mode. In the rhythmically free melismatic organum purum for two voices, imperfect modes are quite common, as Edward Roesner pointed out.[23] In the note-against-note discant style, the imperfect modes provide a means of analysing hocketing, as well as other deviations from the norm, such as compositions that can be interpreted as being either in first mode with an upbeat or in second imperfect mode. These can be found throughout the various fascicles, including **Mo** 1,1, *Deus in adiutorium*; **Mo** 5,94, *Belle Aelis/Haro haro/FLOS FILIUS EIUS*; **Mo** 7,267, *Or ne sai je que devenir/Puisque d'amer/*[*ELEISON*]; and **Mo** 7,295, *Toutes voies/Trop ai/JE LA TRUIS TROP ASPRETE.*

The most complex and seemingly free modal patterns are found in the motets in **Mo** in the sixth imperfect mode. For Garlandia, the sixth mode was essentially either the first or second mode with the internal longs divided into breves. Their modal *ordines* ended accordingly either in the manner of the first or second modes. Thus, an *ordo* in sixth imperfect mode of the first-mode type ended with a breve, the second-mode type with a long.[24] Examples of this motion abound, even in the earliest discant. By the later thirteenth century, however, at least some music used breves and semibreves in ways that went beyond the rules of earlier practice. Not surprisingly, it seems that theorists and singers struggled to keep up with the innovative rhythms employed in practice. In his explanation of how to convert a motet in a long mode (third, fourth, or fifth) into a short mode (first, second, or sixth), the Anonymous of St Emmeram warned that 'the short mode, which draws and conveys its origin from the long, is more difficult as regards the art, for sometimes it hinders and disturbs singers who do not know how to put it together'.[25]

[21] Reimer 1972, 1:39 (sent. 32–4), 1:91 (sent. 16–17).

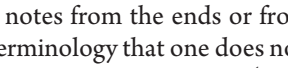
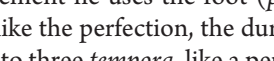
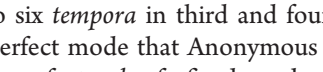
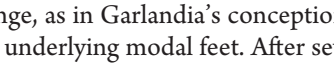
[22] The following *ordo* continues with the same series of notes and rests in first mode. This is what Garlandia meant when he stated that a perfect rest does not change the mode of that which follows it. See Reimer 1972, 1:64 (sent. 7).

[23] See Roesner 1990, 52–5.

[24] See Reimer 1972, 1:61–2 (sent. 9–10).

[25] 'Brevis vero, qui a longo ducit originem et importat, difficilior est quo ad artem, nam cantantes ipsum componere nescientes nonnonquam impedit et perturbat' (Yudkin 1990, 236 (lines 14–6), translation on 237).

Table 10.2 First and second perfect and imperfect modes.

| *Mode* | *Rhythmic Pattern (L=Long, B=Breve)* | *Rhythmic Pattern in Modern Notation* |
|---|---|---|
| First Perfect | L B L B-rest, L B L B-rest |  |
| Second Perfect | B L B L-rest, B L B L-rest |  |
| First Imperfect to Second | L B L B L-rest, B L B L |  |
| Second Imperfect to First | B L B L B-rest, L B L B |  |

Anonymous IV's descriptions of the third, fourth, and sixth imperfect modes are by far his most extensive. Building on the Garlandian model that explained the modes through the use of characteristic *ordines*, Anonymous IV creates many more of his own imperfect *ordines* by removing notes from the ends or from the beginnings of perfect *ordines*, and he uses some terminology that one does not find in other treatises.[26] To measure a mode's movement he uses the foot (*pes*) that contains the smallest characteristic pattern. Unlike the perfection, the duration of a foot varies depending on the mode. It is equal to three *tempora*, like a perfection, in first, second, fifth, and sixth modes,[27] and to six *tempora* in third and fourth modes.[28] It is in connection with the third imperfect mode that Anonymous IV first points out the idea of circularity. When an imperfect *ordo* of a fixed number of tones is repeated, the mode of the *ordo* will change, as in Garlandia's conception, and its tones will change position relative to the underlying modal feet. After several repetitions, the *ordo* will return to its original sequence of longs and breves and its original position in relation to the modal feet.[29]

For the sixth imperfect mode Anonymous IV presents various possibilities organized according to the number of breves in each *ordo*. His first *ordo* contains mostly three breves, the second *ordo* six, and the third nine.[30] At first, the *ordines* are

[26] The descriptions of these imperfect modes appear in Reckow 1967: first and second mode, 1:25 (lines 6–31); third and fourth mode, 1:27 (line 3) to 1:31 (line 27); fifth mode, 1:34 (lines 20–30); sixth mode, 1:34 (line 31) to 1:36 (line 25).

[27] Ibid., 1:24 (lines 22–4); 1:25 (line 34); 1:34 (lines 22–4); 1:33 (lines 21–3).

[28] Ibid., 1:25 (line 33) and 1:27 (lines 5–6). Although Anonymous IV does not state it explicitly, the length of a fourth-mode foot can be determined by analogy to that of the third.

[29] 'And then it is repeated so that in respect to the beginning there is a circular progress through the mode' (*Et postmodum reiteratur ut a principio per modum circularis processus*). Ibid., 1:27 (lines 14–15).

[30] Ibid., 1:91, n. 10. The description of sixth imperfect mode is commonly held to be difficult to understand and garbled in transmission. While Anonymous IV omitted words that may have seemed self-evident, and appears to have made some numerical errors, this passage seems, nevertheless, possible to understand.

arranged in the manner of the sixth mode of the first-mode type: if the rest falls at the beginning of the modal foot, it will be equal to a long; if at the end of the foot, a breve, as in his first example of the first *ordo*.

> The first *ordo* of the sixth imperfect [mode] in diminution of one [note] from its perfection, as is received more fully in the first *ordo* of the sixth perfect [mode], proceeds thus: three breves ligated with a long rest of two *tempora*, three breves separated thus: one breve, two breves ligated, with a breve rest of one *tempus*, a long of two *tempora* with a breve, and a breve with a breve rest; reiterate, reiterate, reiterate.[31]

Once the pattern of breves and rests is established, it can be repeated again and again, until the *ordo* begins at the start of the modal foot. For example, Anonymous IV describes a pattern of three breves with a breve rest that can move circularly across the modal feet:

> Differently still in respect to the same things, so that we may understand more easily: three[32] breves ligated as regards the number of notes with a breve rest, presently three [notes], two of which [are] ligated, one single, with a breve rest, and so three [notes], one of which [is] by itself, [two] ligated with a breve rest. And thus understand by threes by proceeding all in breves, but understand always three for a foot, three for a foot, by reducing to the first mode or the second.[33]

Such motion appears to obscure any similarity to first or second mode. Movement entirely in breves creates a continuous flow independent of any established mode. In addition, Anonymous IV's models of sixth imperfect mode are remarkably compatible with rhythms found in actual compositions. Similar repetitive sixth-mode rhythms can be found in a few daring motets in **Mo**. There are two consecutive pieces in **Mo** 7 whose tenors proceed in three-breve phrases, much like Anonymous IV's first *ordo*. These are the above-cited **Mo** 7,277, *Coument se poet/Se je chante/QUI PRENDROIT*, as well as **Mo** 7,278, *Dieus, qui porroit/En grant dolour/APTATUR*. They are not in binary metre, but are best understood as manifestations of the sixth imperfect mode.[34]

The sixth imperfect mode can be found even in the fifth fascicle of **Mo**. The triplum of **Mo** 5,164, *Je ne puis/Flour de lis/DOUCE DAME* resembles the third *ordo* of Anonymous IV's sixth imperfect mode, which he describes as follows:

[31] Ibid., 1:34 (line 31) to 1:35 (line 2) (translation mine).

[32] I have corrected this from 'four'. Four breves cannot be contained, or ligated, within a foot, so that it seems that 'three' breves was intended. If Anonymous IV had meant that the first of four breves was an 'upbeat' to the modal foot, he would have described it as a single note. The error may have arisen because the usual opening ligature in sixth mode contains four notes.

[33] Ibid., 1:36 (lines 7–12) (translation mine).

[34] The imperfect *ordines* of *Dieus qui porroit/En grant dolour/APTATUR* have been pointed out by Roesner 1984, 369.

> The third *ordo* of the sixth imperfect [mode] proceeds through four, three, two ligated imperfect [notes] with a long rest of two *tempora*, and thus proceed from these nine [notes], as you have done from the six aforesaid [notes] by this manner, until you have a circular sufficiency; and then reiterate, reiterate, reiterate.[35]

As in Anonymous IV's third *ordo*, the triplum of **Mo** 5,164 begins with two phrases worth nine breves each, although each triplum phrase is followed by a breve rest, rather than an imperfect long. The tenor has phrases of seven breves separated by breve rests throughout. Like the two motets of **Mo** 7 (277 and 278, cited above) **Mo** 5,164 has conventionally been transcribed in binary metre, although it is actually in the sixth imperfect mode. The phrasing of its triplum and tenor causes the rest to occur not always at the end of the modal foot, as would be normal for a perfect sixth-mode rhythm. Instead, Anonymous IV points out that, in the sixth imperfect mode, 'you do not mind if the breve rest happens in the beginning or in the middle or in the end'.[36] Fitted with a different tenor, *PROH DOLOR*, the motet *Je ne puis/ Flour de lis* also appears in **Ba**, a manuscript from the last half or third of the thirteenth century, and which has recently been localized to southern France.[37] While this region has not previously been considered a hotbed of *Ars antiqua* polyphony in the thirteenth century, **Ba**, with its collection of hocketing clausulae on the *In seculum* tenor, is roughly contemporary with an early fourteenth-century fragment containing a four-voice *In seculum* clausula that also came from southern France.[38]

In **Mo** 8 one finds motets that – rather than repeating imperfect phrases in a circular fashion, as in **Mo** 5 and **Mo** 7 – employ imperfect rests in a variety of ways. As in **Mo** 7, pairs of motets share some unusual devices. **Mo** 8,310, *In sompnis/Amours/ IN SOMPNIS*, features for the first statement of the tenor chant a triplum that moves predominantly in pairs of semibreves with irregular rests: a breve rest at the end of a modal foot and a long rest at the start of another. A dramatic stretto of sorts occurs at the second tenor statement, when the tenor accelerates to motion entirely in breves, while both the triplum and the motetus move homorhythmically by pairs of semibreves. The triplum surprises with a breve rest in the middle of a modal foot at approximately the same place relative to the tenor melody as its long rest had occurred in the first tenor statement. The motet that follows – **Mo** 8,311, *Se je chant/Bien doi amer/ ET SPERABIT*, which was discussed above for its unusual hocketing between the tenor and motetus – also independently presents an imperfect modal rhythm in the triplum. Its phrases either end with a long rest (which is normal in the second mode and allows one to focus on the frequent hocketing of the motetus and tenor) or with a breve rest (which is not in keeping with the second mode but allows the triplum to interlock with the tenor, as can be seen in Example 10.1).

[35] Reckow 1967, 1:35 (lines 20–4) (translation mine).

[36] Ibid., 1:36 (lines 12–13) (translation mine).

[37] Pfändtner 2012, 163–6.

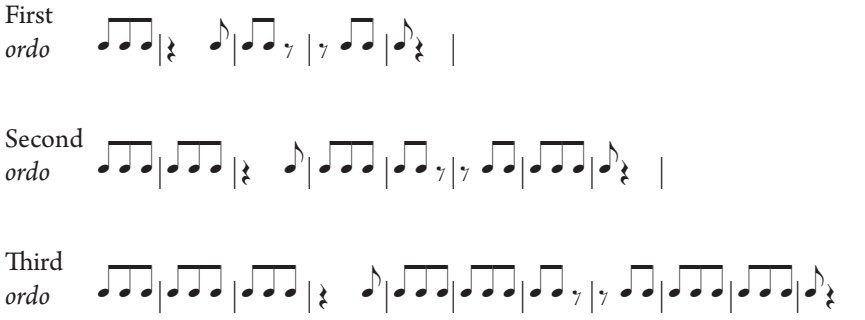
[38] Jeffery 1984, 42–5.

The next pair of motets, **Mo** 8,315 and 316, may share an imperfect motive. Some short, imperfect phrases in the second mode highlight exclamations of *Porta* in the triplum and motetus of **Mo** 8,315, *Porta preminentie/Porta penitentie/PORTAS*. **Mo** 8,316, *Se je sui/Jolietement/OMNES*, although different in texture from the preceding motet, has an unusual tenor rhythm that uses imperfect breve rests in the second and fourth modes, which may have been inspired by **Mo** 8,315. The tenor's short melody is stated seven times. A breve rest isolates an ascending interval of a major second in the imperfect second-mode rhythm of breve–long in the first statement. This recalls the ascending major second exclamation of *Porta* in **Mo** 8,315. In **Mo** 8,316, this motive – preceded and followed by rests – is transformed into the imperfect fourth-mode rhythm of altered breve–perfect long in the subsequent statements of the tenor.

In addition to placing a rest at the beginning or middle of a modal foot evident in the motets described above, Anonymous IV describes a technique that goes further still. In the sixth imperfect mode a long rest may straddle two modal feet, a process that he calls *entitio*, 'because one foot is grafted in another foot'.[39] This happens when a long rest falls on the last third of a modal foot and continues through the first third of the next modal foot. Anonymous IV illustrates this in connection with his three *ordines* of the sixth imperfect mode. In the first *ordo*, as illustrated in Example 10.3, an imperfect long rest, rather than the usual breve rest, follows the three breves. As the series of breves and rest is repeated, the long will eventually extend across two feet, until the circular motion is completed and the *ordo* once again begins on the foot. Similarly, a long rest can follow six or nine breves in the second and third *ordines* respectively:

[39] '… quoniam unus pes entitur in alio pede'. Reckow 1964, 1:35 (line 17). In several instances Anonymous IV uses the noun *entitio* and the verb *entire* (see the index in ibid., 1:110). I have not been able to find them in any dictionary of medieval Latin, including any for the usage of Britain, his presumed home. Nor does the term appear in Michael Bernhard et al. 1992–. There are, however, two Latin words close in meaning and phonology. *Enta*(*-is*), derived from the Old French *ente*, refers to a 'slip', 'scion', or 'sapling': Latham and Howlett et al. 1975–2013, fascicule 3, p. 781. *Entare* is a Latin verb listed by Du Cange (1883–7) 1954, 2:270, from a fifteenth-century source, which means 'to graft'. Since the Old French verb meaning 'to graft' is *enter*, it seems likely that *entare*, as well as Anonymous IV's *entire* and *entitio*, were formed by combining the French root with Latin endings. My thanks to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for confirming this and for pointing out that the verb *enter* would have been familiar to musicians through its use in the *motet enté*. In regard to the motet and other songs, the grafting refers to the citation of pre-existent text, such as refrains. Concerning Johannes de Grocheio's *cantilena entata* ('grafted refrain song'), see Page 1993b, 27, n. 41. He considers the term *entata* to be a Latinization of the Old French *enté*. For a reference to his work and the controversy concerning his translation of *cantus insertus*, see Plumley 2013, 21, n. 1. It is interesting that Anonymous IV uses the verb *inserere*, which usually means 'to graft', as an adjective in the form of the perfect passive participle (*insitus*) with the figurative meaning of 'innate, natural, customary'. Latham and Howlett et al. 1975–2013, fascicule 5, p. 1401, cites the following sentence used by Anonymous IV: 'So we understand likewise concerning the fourth mode which is opposite to what is customary for [the third mode] in length and brevity' (*Sic etiam intelligimus de quarto suo modo opposito sibi insito [eiusdem] longitudinis et brevitatis*). See Reckow 1967, 1:40 (lines 6–7) (translation mine).

Ex. 10.3 *Entitio* in the three *ordines* of Anonymous IV's imperfect sixth mode. (Long rest = crotchet rest or two quaver rests; vertical strokes demarcate feet.)




> And note that we can proceed more nimbly through these three aforesaid *ordines* under the following form: namely, from the first *ordo* or in the first *ordo*, by understanding [that] the long [is] fourth, by computing notes and rests, by omitting nothing from themselves, as was said above, because a foot is grafted (*entitur*) in a foot. But by some connected intermediate they can be performed well, but the continuation is difficult for the ignorant, etc. By reiterating thus like the second *ordo*, in which the [long is] seventh, whether it was a rest (*pausatio*) or a note (*punctus*), thus also in the third *ordo* let it be made so that the long is tenth, whether it was a rest or a note; and let the progress be made thus, until the circular motion is completed, and then reiterate, reiterate, and let yourself not be surprised at such an order of notes or by such a graft (*entitione*), because sometimes a separation of the order of the feet is found, and thus a separation becomes a union by the intermediate graft, and sometimes the contrary.[40]

Example 10.3 provides a realization of Anonymous IV's description. Even before the explanation cited above, he gives a more detailed description of the *entitio* created by the long rest of the sixth foot of the second *ordo*, as shown in the Example.

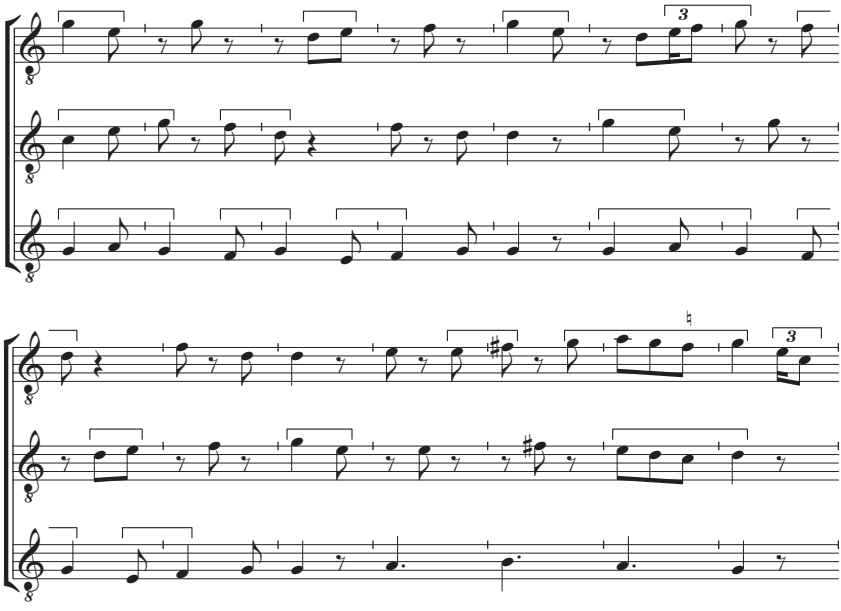
> But if you understand that the long is seventh, then with that rest is added a breve and another breve for a foot, which in fact is difficult to perform, because one foot is grafted in another foot, which in fact is done in many songs, and men do not know how to distinguish this in many places.[41]

Extant music confirms the existence of *entitio* as a practical technique. It occurs in a pair of pieces in **Mo** 8: 340, *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM*, and 341, *Huic ut placuit/Huic ut placuit/[HUIC MAGI]*. These are three-voice motets in which the triplum and motetus share the same text, engage in voice-exchange, and conclude with hocketing caudae. The tenor of **Mo** 8,341 continues the chant that was begun in **Mo** 8,340 and the poetry of the upper voices in both motets develops

[40] Reckow 1967, 1:35 (line 24) to 1:36 (line 6) (translation mine).

[41] Ibid., 1:35 (lines 15–19) (translation mine).

Ex. 10.4 **Mo** 8,340, *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALAAM*, fol. 393r.



the themes of the Epiphany: Balaam's prophecy and the visit of the Magi. Both tenors move in first- and fifth-mode rhythms, while the upper voices are in first and sixth modes. In the second half of **Mo** 8,340, the upper voices hocket in imperfect sixth mode with occasional long rests that straddle the modal feet (represented in Example 10.4 by pairs of eighth-note rests). The long rests interlock with a pair of breves in the opposite voice. Furthermore, the *entitio* repeats since it is part of a rhythmic and melodic pattern that is sounded four times with voice-exchange. In the cauda of **Mo** 8,341, the upper voices move in smaller note values: breves and semibreves without any longs. There are only two statements of the hocketing passage, with only one exchange of voices. The sole *entitio* is created by rests of a breve and a semibreve that fall at the juncture between the first and second statements of the hocketing cauda.

Another rhythmic innovation, a duple version of third mode, occurs in addition to *entitio* in **Mo** 8,328, *Amor potest/Ad amorem/TENOR*. The piece divides into two halves, the second an untexted hocket. Using imperfect longs followed by pairs of equal breves, the first and third quarters of the piece proceed in a rhythm that is explained as an alternative version of third mode by Walter Odington,[42] and as employing a rhythmic style called *mos lascivus* according to Petrus le Viser.[43] In the second and fourth quarters the rhythm changes to something more like sixth mode with imperfect longs. One could think of this rhythm as being a fractured version (with *entitio* in the hocketing upper voices) of the duple third mode. If, however,

[42] Hammond 1970, 139 (sent. 19–20).

[43] Lefferts 1991, 106 (lines 1–6).

one adopts the modal concept of Anonymous IV, it could be understood as imperfect sixth mode with occasional *entitio* created by an imperfect long straddling the modal foot. It is even possible to think of the entire piece in that way. The unusual features of its rhythm seem to have been motivated by its text. Love complains because Faith and Constancy, his constant followers and companions, have begun to be diminished and, if Love is deprived of these two, everything dies and is annihilated. The imperfect rhythmic modes may reflect Love's own reduction due to his loss. The motet also seems to depict the triplum's words *cepit minui* ('began to be diminished') when the rhythm shifts from a sort of binary third mode (imperfect long–breve–breve) to motion in smaller note values (breves and semibreves).[44]

## INNOVATIVE OR PART OF THE MUSICAL SCENE?

In the course of considering some of the most advanced rhythmic techniques employed in **Mo** 8, it has become clear that practices such as *resecatio* and imperfect modes moving circularly also occur in earlier fascicles. *Resecatio* occurs in **Mo** 1,2, 3, and, 5; **Mo** 3,39; **Mo** 5,73 and 137; **Mo** 7,277; and the second supplement to the seventh fascicle **Mo** 7,302. Continuous breve motion in the imperfect sixth mode is a feature of **Mo** 5,164, **Mo** 7,277 and **Mo** 7,278. Petronian semibreves are also found in **Mo** 7.

The most innovative practices, appearing only in **Mo** 8, are *entitio* and a special case of binary third mode in **Mo** 8,328, which appears to have been motivated by its text. While it is difficult to know when the first use of *entitio* occurred, cases are found in several fourteenth-century English motets: *Salve cleri speculum/* [*SOSPITATI DEDIT EGROS*] (PMFC 15, no. 11),[45] *Triumphat hodie/TROP EST FOL* (PMFC 15, no. 17), and *Ave miles celestis curie/AVE REX* (PMFC 15, no. 20). Lefferts has dated the source of *Salve cleri speculum* around 1330, the two sources of *Triumphat hodie* fall between 1300 and 1330, and the source of *Ave miles* much later, around 1360–80.[46] Furthermore, **Mo** 8,340, *Balam inquit*, which contains the use of *entitio* in **Mo**, appears along with **Mo** 8,341, *Huic ut placuit*, as one long motet in one of the same English sources that contains *Triumphat hodie*, which Lefferts dated to c.1320 (PMFC 15, no. 2).[47] The fourteenth-century English dating accords well with Alison Stones's placement of the illumination of **Mo** 8 around 1315–25.[48]

**Mo** 8 contains a repertory that represents the end of the *Ars antiqua* era. Even the most unusual of its motets fit within the parameters of the thirteenth-century system of rhythmic modes, while exploring new ways of articulating them. Their composers continued to work within the musical tradition that they had inherited, persisting in a style that contemporary proponents of the *Ars nova* were changing radically.

[44] See Wolinski 2013, 406–11.

[45] Harrison 1980.

[46] Lefferts 1986. Compare the listing of the motets' sources at pp. 226, 227, and 224, respectively, with the dating of the sources at p. 25.

[47] Ibid., 224 and 25.

[48] See Chapter 3 by Alison Stones in this volume.

CHAPTER 11

# Re-presentation in the *Ars antiqua*: from Chant to Polyphony

SOLOMON GUHL-MILLER

THIS study is closely related to aspects of David Maw's chapter in this volume on the connection between organal passages, chant, and Petronian motets.[1] Beginning from Jacques Derrida's notion of moments of 'openness' as pertaining to flexibility or improvisation in the performance or dissemination of a given work, the topics of rhythmic and melodic flexibility as inherent parts of performance in the genres of chant, organum, and motet will be addressed. The discussion of chant and organum will provide the background for how moments of 'openness' might be identified in the repertory of **Mo** 8, focusing first on the semibreve flourishes that typically occur at the end of a given perfection in a motet, and second on the groups of more than three semibreves, which are commonly referred to as Petronian semibreves.

## 'OPENNESS' AND MELODIC FLEXIBILITY IN CHANT AND ORGANUM

OSCAR Mascarenas, in his dissertation 'Exposing the Play in Gregorian Chant: The Manuscript as an Opening of Re-presentation', outlines a third stream in chant studies that addresses the variable melodic formulae in chant.[2] The first two streams are well known. The first argues that the variable versions of a chant as seen in the surviving manuscripts are clues to discovering the path of a given chant through time. From these clues we may create stemmae of influence and hypothesize an ideal original form of the chant.[3] The surviving chant is therefore viewed as degenerating from this original form. The second stream is closely related to the first, but takes the view that variant forms represent a particular house style exemplified by a composer/scribe. Rather than deteriorations, these variants are viewed as progressive recompositions, reimagining the chant to the exact compositional specifications of a particular manuscript or context.[4] The changes made are thus intentional changes to accommodate these concerns.

Mascarenas's answer to the question of variance in chant transmission is that variable elements represent passages of flexible, unfixed, melodic content. He refers

[1] pp. 161–83.

[2] Mascarenas 2010.

[3] See, for example, Wagner 1911–21 and, more recently, Hughes 1987.

[4] See, for example, Leo Treitler's position in the Roundtable edited in Kühn and Nitsche 1980. For this notion of 'house style' in organum transmission, see Roesner 1981.

to such moments and the act of creating performances from these manuscripts as moments of 'openness' that he defines as follows:

> An opening is seen here … to convey various senses/meanings … in terms of the derridean *dissemination*. An opening as a space/gap/aperture, a window (of opportunity); an opening, a sort of undefined commencement, a gateway, a way in, a means of access; a perennial act of openness. The manuscript, therefore, is seen here as that undefined beginning that is a gateway to, a space for, and an opening of re-presentation.[5]

In practical terms, Mascarenas examines the chant repertoire for examples of the same chant which in different sources have the same melodic contour or melodic direction at a particular moment in every source, but not exactly the same notes. These sections tended to employ melodic formulae which would have been recognizable to a singer at a glance. Rather than viewing each chant in terms of a stemma or house style, Mascarenas states that these moments, where the sources disagree on how a melody gets from one note to another but *not* on the melody's arrival or departure points, are 'spaces of play' in which the singers are expected to improvise a melody that fills in the gap between the arrival and departure points. He states that the singers at the time would have known to do this improvisation, or re-presentation, because of the appearance of familiar melodic formulae.[6] For us, without this familiarity, we are only aware of these states of play by comparing multiple sources of the same chant and finding these differences. We may then compile lists of possibilities through examining the inconsistencies in the sources, thereby creating a melody bank of possibilities from which to draw for these moments.

In examining Notre-Dame organum, we have the benefit of actually having a melodic bank that describes exactly what has been outlined above: namely the Vatican Organum Treatise, written at roughly the same time as the organa, which gives lists of melodic possibilities organized according to the motion of the tenor voice in the organum.[7] Following Mascarenas, organa could be transcribed in a way that would reflect the flexibility demonstrated by this treatise, where the melodic flourish on the cadence, rather than being fully written out, would be indicated in a note-against-note format, above which formulae were listed. Singers could choose which formulae to perform on a particular cadence or create their own melisma based on the basic melodic contour of the contrasting possibilities. Such an edition might include the organum passage on one side of the page without

[5] Mascarenas 2010, xvi.

[6] Mascarenas 2010, 259.

[7] The primary studies on this treatise are Zaminer 1959 and Godt and Rivera 1984. Further lists of standard melodic figures found directly in the Notre-Dame organa have been compiled in Tischler 1988, 1:lxiii–lxviii, and the appendix to Payne 1996. Stephen Immel has also discovered numerous connections between the figures in the organa attached to the treatise and the Notre-Dame organa: see Immel 2001. For a specific look at melodic variants within an organum family which retain a unified melodic outline but differ in terms of floridity, and a method for performing and interpreting those variants, see Guhl-Miller 2014.

the cadential melisma, but with an indication that the melisma is to be placed there, while the other side of the page carries the appropriate examples from the Vatican Organum Treatise that encompass melismas with the same motion as the cadence. Performers would choose from one of several possible options or responsibly improvise a melisma which holds a similar melodic outline to the examples. Examples 11.1a and 11.1b offer one possible option for how this might be done, with just a few of the many possible melismas. This is one way in which singers may become familiar with standard melodic formulae so that they may be able to improvise certain sections of the organum 'responsibly'.

## MELODIC FLOURISHES IN THE *ARS ANTIQUA* MOTET REPERTORY

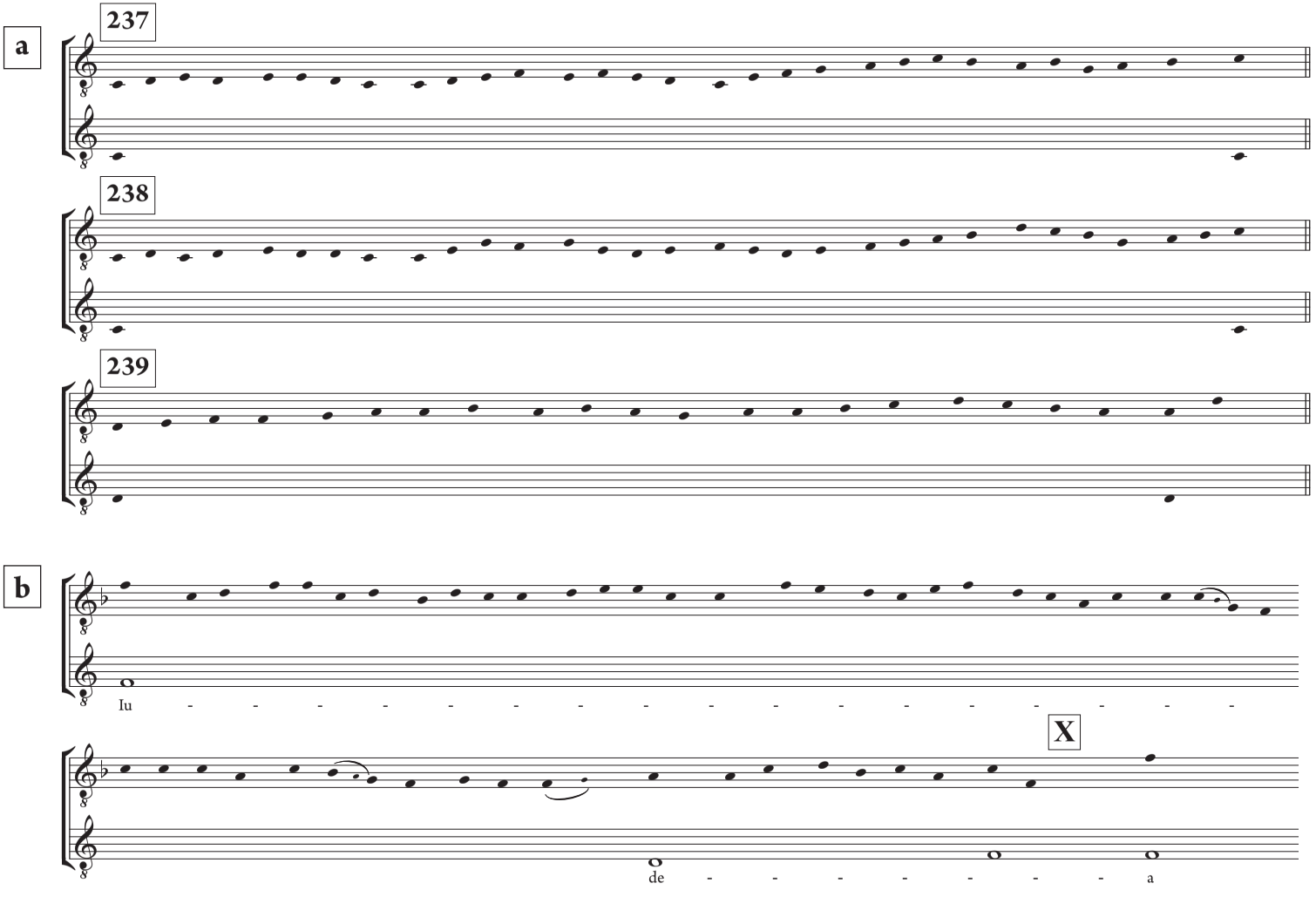
While the differences in ligature organization and melodic flourishes in Notre-Dame polyphony can be extreme and therefore raise several complex questions that cannot be dealt with here, variations between extant sources of motets in Montpellier fascicles 7 and 8 are comparatively straightforward. In his study of the motets of the so-called La Clayette manuscript (**Cl**) and their concordances in **Mo**, **Ba**, and elsewhere – a study in the vein of the first stream discussed above – James Cook builds stemmae indicating the transmission of motets through the late thirteenth century. The primary component that he takes into account in building his stemmae is what he refers to as 'significant variation'. This includes distinct changes in the melodic outline and in harmony between sources. In the so-called old corpus of **Mo**, such variations do occur with some frequency, but the same cannot be said for the motets of the seventh and eighth fascicles. That said, variations are frequent in the transmission of the motets of the seventh and eighth fascicles, but these variations were not deemed significant by Cook.

Among Cook's 'insignificant variations' are the 'melodic flourishes which are ornamental in character'. He writes:

> These melodic flourishes consist of only a few notes in rhythmically weak positions … When such melodic differences are found among multiple sources of a work, the fundamental melodic contour is not altered. Such melodic *fioriture* were apparently not subject to scribal or editorial respect, but were freely varied … No unacceptable dissonance results and there is no way to determine which reading is original. Ornamental flourishes at final cadences are of greater variety and frequently of greater dimensions … Particularly when standardized formulae are used, as in the replacement of a double-leading tone cadence with an under-third cadence in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century repertoires, no standard of use can be defined.[8]

Such figures do not alter the overall melodic contour, though they may vary from a stationary breve to a melodic flourish of semibreves, altering the number of notes. According to Cook and also to Yvonne Rokseth, there is no clear pattern of use

[8] Cook 1978, 15–16. See also Rokseth 1935–9, 4:97–9.


a
237
238
239
b
Iu - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
X
de - - - - - - - a

Ex. 11.1 (*opposite*)
a. Vatican Organum Treatise fol. 48r, Examples 237–9.
b. Transcription of the opening of *Iudea et Iherusalem*, **F**, fol. 65r.

when considering all of the appearances of these flourishes in the various manuscripts. These figures align with those discussed by Mascarenas.

Following similar guidelines to those employed by Mascarenas, and observed in Example 11.1, but in this case comparing the variants on the unaccented part of each perfection for all of the motets in **Mo** 7 and 8, and following the format of the Vatican Organum Treatise, which organizes its melodic bank around movement in the tenor, we arrive at a list of melodic flourishes, occurring mostly in the upper voices between the accented middle breve of a perfection and the first breve of the next perfection, as shown in Table 11.1.

The starkest example of these minor differences appears in the motet *Au cuer ai un mal/Ja ne m'en repentirai/JOLIETEMENT* (**Mo** 7,260), in which nearly every melodic flourish is placed in a different position in the separate concordances. Example 11.2a presents the opening of this motet, with the variants from **Tu** (fol. 24r) and **Douce 139** (fol. 179v) signalled on the ossia staff; Example 11.2b removes all flourishes to show the reduced motet into which melodic flourishes could be added. Removing the flourishes is straightforward because, just as each concordance places the flourishes in different positions, so each concordance places the breves in different positions, thus allowing the hypothetical bare-bones version to be clearly seen, and thus the set of flourishes listed in Table 11.1 may be 'freely' applied to liven it up.

It seems reasonable to assume that performers may have added the flourishes from a set of stock melodic figures with which they were familiar, in the state of play that was the re-presentation of the motet, that is, the performance of the work. This is why these flourishes are so disparate in the various sources: they are meant to be considered as a single option among many and the performers would feel free to change those flourishings as they saw fit. There are few concordances among the motets of the eighth fascicle, and the motet that has the most disparate concordances – **Mo** 8,320 – has separate problems relating to the disparate treatment of dissonance that even Cook and Rokseth would have felt were not merely 'insignificant variations', thus making it a non-ideal candidate for the bare-bones motet model. That said, these principles may readily be applied to the unica motets of fascicle 8, with the exception of the hocket sections, and the motets that rely primarily on hocket technique, such as **Mo** 8,340 and 341: *Balam inquit/Balam inquit/BALLAAM* and *Huic ut placuit/Huic ut placuit/[HUIC MAGI]*.[9]

Having considered how melodic freedom and states of play may instruct a modern singer on how and where a degree of improvisation is permitted and perhaps expected in the motets of **Mo** 7 and 8, we may now examine how and where rhythm might also be interpreted flexibly by the performer, particularly in the Petronian motets, where semibreves divide the breve into more than three parts. David Wilson noted that there are musical reasons for assuming a level of freedom

[9] See Mary E. Wolinski's discussion of hocket in these motets, in Chapter 10 of this volume, pp. 194–5.

Table 11.1 Melodic flourishes on weak beats in **Mo** 7 and 8 motets*

| *Motion between the accented second (middle) breve of a perfection and the accented first (initial) breve of the following perfection* | *Semibreve melodic flourishes occurring on the third (final) breve of the perfection between the accented breves in column 1* | *Breves occurring on the third (final) breve of the perfection in between the accented breves in column 1* |
|---|---|---|
| Unison motion, e.g. C–C | CBAB, BAB, BAG, FED, EDE, DED, DCB, CBA, BA, BG, AB, AG, ED, DB, DE, CB, CG, or CD | C, D, A, G, or rest |
| Motion rises by a second, e.g. B–C | CBAB, BAB, BAG, CBA, BA, BC, AB, CA, or CD | C, G, A, B, or rest |
| Motion falls by a second, e.g. D–C | DCBA, CBAB, BAB, BAG, FED, EDE, EDC, DED, DCB, CBA, BG, BC, AB, ED, EC, DB, DE, DC, or CB | C, D, E, B, or rest |
| Motion rises by a third, e.g. A–C | BCDB, BAB, BCA, BCD, ADA, GAB, BA, AB, GB, GA, GF, CE, or CD | C, D, F, A, B, or rest |
| Motion falls by a third, e.g. E–C | FEDE, EDCB, DDCB, FED, EDE, EDC, DCB, CAB, AB, FE, FD, ED, DB, DA, DE, or CD | C, D, E, A, or rest |
| Motion rises by a fourth, e.g. G–C | AB or GA | A, B, or rest |
| Motion falls by a fourth, e.g. F–C | FEDE, FED, FDE, EDE, FE, ED, or DE | D, E or rest |
| Motion rises by a fifth, e.g. F–C | GAB or GA | A or rest |
| Motion falls by a fifth, e.g. G–C | GFED, FEFD, FEDE, FEDC, FED, EFE, EDE, FD, or ED | C, E, F, B or rest |
| Motion rises by a sixth, e.g. E–C | AB | A |

* I found no examples of rising sevenths, falling sixths, or falling sevenths in my examination of consecutive accented sections of each perfection in **Mo** 7 and 8, so these intervals are not included here.

Ex. 11.2 (*opposite*)
a. Excerpt from *Au cuer/Ja ne m'en repentirai d'amer/JOLIETEMENT* (**Mo** 7,260) with variants.
b. Skeletal structure of excerpt from *Au cuer/Ja ne m'en repentirai/JOLIETEMENT* (**Mo** 7,260).

**a**

Tu Ba Tu

Au cuer ai un mal, qui mi des - tra[i] nt sou - vent:

Tu, Douce 139 Douce 139 Douce 139 Tu, Douce 139 Douce 139

Ja ne m'en re - pen - ti - rai d'a - mer pour mal,

Tu, Douce 139 Tu, Douce 139 Douce 139

JO - LI - E - TE - MENT [mi tient li mal d'a - mer,

**b**

Au cuer ai un mal, qui mi des - tra[i]nt sou - vent:

Ja ne m'en re - pen - ti - rai d'a mer pour mal,

JO - LI - E - TE - MENT [mi tient li mal d'a - mer,

in realizing these semibreves, stating that, if the tempo is appropriate for the motetus and tenor, the semibreves move too quickly, while, if the tempo is comfortable for the triplum, the remaining voices move too slowly.[10] Based on a passage from the anonymous treatise *Discantus positio vulgaris* that describes the indefinite holding of rests in three-part polyphony if all voices rest together, Wilson hypothesizes that the motetus and tenor could wait for the triplum to complete the semibreves before continuing, creating 'a free, not precisely measured rendition of the cadenza-like triplum passages'. He continues that the

> cadenza passage itself would be performed in notes that could only be described as equal, but whose actual value would be subtly shaped by the declamation of the text. The result is an element of rubato in which the lower voices suspend their rhythmic regularity in deference to the upper voice.[11]

Mary E. Wolinski, supplementing Wilson's view with an interpretation of Jacobus's *Speculum Musicae* (Book 7, chapter 17), comes to a similar conclusion. The passage from Jacobus to which Wolinski refers reads:

> So although the ancients generally used a fast mensuration of breves in motets or the fastest possible in duplex hockets, once in a while however, they went beyond that to the slow and moderate, albeit rarely, in which they notated more than three semibreves for perfect tempus.[12]

Based on this quotation, Wolinski states the following:

> when more than three semibreves are placed for a tempus, it appears that in such motets emphasis was put not on rhythmic complexity as in semibreve hockets, but on what may have been the leisurely delivery of charming courtly love songs. Wilson suggested that such lengthy groups may have necessitated momentary retardations in the lower voices in deference to the triplum. We cannot know if this is true, but there may well have been a good deal of freedom and lengthening in performance in order to allow comprehensible articulation. Jacobus's message is clear: the Ancients strove with their semibreves to transcend precise definition, aiming instead for spontaneous emotion.[13]

[10] Wilson 1977, 255.

[11] Ibid. The passage that Wilson cites from the *Discantus positio vulgaris* in support of his view is: 'A rest in either voice has the value of one breve, unless both voices pause together with the triplum, and then the rests in the cantus firmus are held "ad placitum"'. See Cserba 1935, 189–94, esp. 193.

[12] Bragard 1955–73, 7:38–9, trans. Wegman 2017, 31.

[13] Wolinski 1988, 138.

These two notions of performing the semibreve flourishes with rhythmic flexibility and placing semibreves in positions that highlight the emotional content of the poem shall be examined below.

## THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS OF UNMEASURED FLOURISHES

BEYOND Jacobus and the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, there is further evidence to support Wilson's and Wolinski's view in the theoretical texts contained in the descriptions of the *punctus organi* by Franco of Cologne and Anonymous IV. Jacobus speaks of precisely measured hockets in a regular fast tempo, while the motets that break up the breve into so many parts are less exact. Franco describes exactitude in measurable music, in which all of the voices must add up to the correct number of perfections until the penultimate perfection, at which point the voice moves more freely, as in organum. He writes:

> One should note that in the discantus as well as in the *triplices*, etc., one must consider the equivalence in the perfections of longs, breves, and semibreves, in such a way that there will be as many perfections in the tenor as there are in the discantus or triplum, etc., or the other way round, counting both direct and muted sounds up to the penultimate, at which point one does not observe such measure, but rather has a *punctus organi*.[14]

According to Franco, even in music for three or more voices typically associated with measured polyphony, during a *punctus organi* the counting stops and the voices no longer have to align mathematically in terms of perfections.[15]

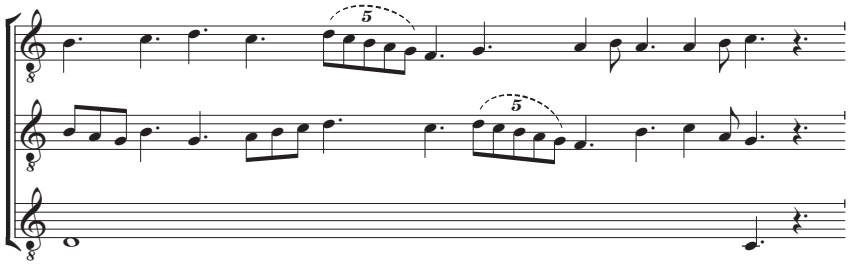
Franco's examples follow a clear format. They each begin with a mensural ligature still counting perfections, and are then followed by a series of *coniuncturae* or semibreves. It is these semibreves which Franco no longer counts into perfections. The examples each conclude with a mensural ligature, returning to discant polyphony.[16] So how might these essentially Petronian semibreves be performed 'freely'? One solution comes from the repertoire of organa tripla, particularly the triplum *Descendit* (Example 11.3). There are three cadences before the first section of plainchant enters, and the end of each section is reminiscent of Franco's example, with streams of semibreve *coniuncturae* entering before a final mensural ligature and a

[14] Gilles and Reaney 1974, 75; translation adapted from McKinnon 1998, 242.

[15] I am indebted to Everist 2010, esp. 177–8. In his examination of the *punctus organi* in the three-voice conductus repertoire, Everist cites Anonymous IV's discussion of its appearance in the cauda of certain conducti as further evidence of its appearance in three-voiced polyphony. For Anonymous IV's discussion, see Reckow 1967, 1:82.

[16] Gilles and Reaney 1974, 80.These highlight several elements from the typical *punctus organi* as found in the conductus repertoire outlined in Everist 2010, 167, particularly the descending *coniuncturae*.

Ex. 11.3 Excerpt from *Descendit de caelis* (perfs 105–116).



cadence. The cadence that is of most interest for these purposes is the second one, which Edward Roesner transcribes as shown in Example 11.3.[17]

Here only one voice moves at a time, so, as Franco stated, there is no need to count perfections. First, there are three *coniuncturae* in the motetus against a held tenor and a held note in the triplum which waits for the motetus to finish the *coniunctura* before it moves to the next note. Then there is a voice-exchange of two five-note *coniuncturae* figures: first in the triplum against the held tenor and motetus lines, and then in the motetus against the held tenor and triplum lines. Roesner transcribed these moments fluidly, giving the singers the opportunity to take their time on the melodic flourishes before returning to the mensural final two ligatures in discant.

This is a practical example of Franco's notion of organum.[18] Although by Franco's time the long free sections of organum purum were in decline, it is a clear illustration of how a section of organum could appear in a triplum, namely, one line moves freely in a brief passage while the other lines either drop out or wait for the line to be over before re-entering and returning the texture to measured discant. In this case, the 'penultimate' that Franco refers to is where this section of organum takes place, and does not reference the same penultimate long described in the treatises of Garlandia, Anonymous IV, and the Anonymous of St Emmeram in their descriptions of organum purum.[19] Instead, it seems to refer to an entire phrase before a short mensural cadential point.

## INTERPRETING **MO** 8,317

INTERPRETING this Franconian penultimate organal section or *punctus organi* as a topos to highlight the ending of a phrase, the remaining pieces of the puzzle of these semibreves come together in the alignment of music and text in a final state of play. **Mo** 8,317 serves as a typical example of a Petronian motet, and the underlined text indicates where Petronian semibreves occur. The text and translation of the triplum text of **Mo** 8,317 are as follows:

[17] Roesner 1993, 42.

[18] This interpretation of organum according to Franco also aligns with that of Atkinson 1989.

[19] For a detailed explanation, see Guhl-Miller 2013.

*Aucun, qui ne sevent servir*
*Amour ne le[s] dous mestier maintenir,*
*vont aucune fois d'Amours et de dames mesdisant,*
*quant il a leur premier desir*
*ne puent avenir*
*a dous don, qu'atendent vrai amant.*
*Certes il i doivent bien faillir,*
*ains je di et sans mentir:*
*S'il i avenoient, ce seroit pité grant,*
*car cil, qui veulent d'amour joir,*
*doivent de cuer souffrir*
*les dous maus, que bone amour leur fait sentir,*
*et estre courtois et bien celant,*
*large et a toute gent biau parlant,*
*ne ne doivent pas douter le trambler, le fremir*
*ne de la colour le pallir*
*en souspirant;*
*car bone Amour plus puet merir,*
*que nus ne porroit deservir*
*en bien servant,*
*tant est de virtu poissant.*
*Et pour ce cil, qui pour un desir trop taillant*
*veulent d'amour joir tout errant,*
*ne se sont de riens en amer entendant,*
*je le temoing en mon chant.*

Some who don't know how to serve Love or keep up the sweet task sometimes go around speaking ill of love and of ladies, when their first desire is not rewarded with the sweet gift for which true lovers wait.

Indeed, they are bound to fail, and so I say without falsehood:

If it happened that they succeeded, it would be a great pity, for those who want to enjoy love's pleasures, must first suffer in their hearts the sweet pains which true love makes them feel

And they must be courteous and discreet, generous, and of seemly speech with all. Nor must they be afraid to tremble, to quiver, or sighing, to turn pale.

For true love, so great is its power, can offer greater rewards than anyone could deserve from simply serving well –

And I bear testimony to it in my song for those who want to have pleasure in love immediately, on account of strong desire, and thus understand nothing about love.[20]

[20] Stakel and Relihan 1985, 108–9.

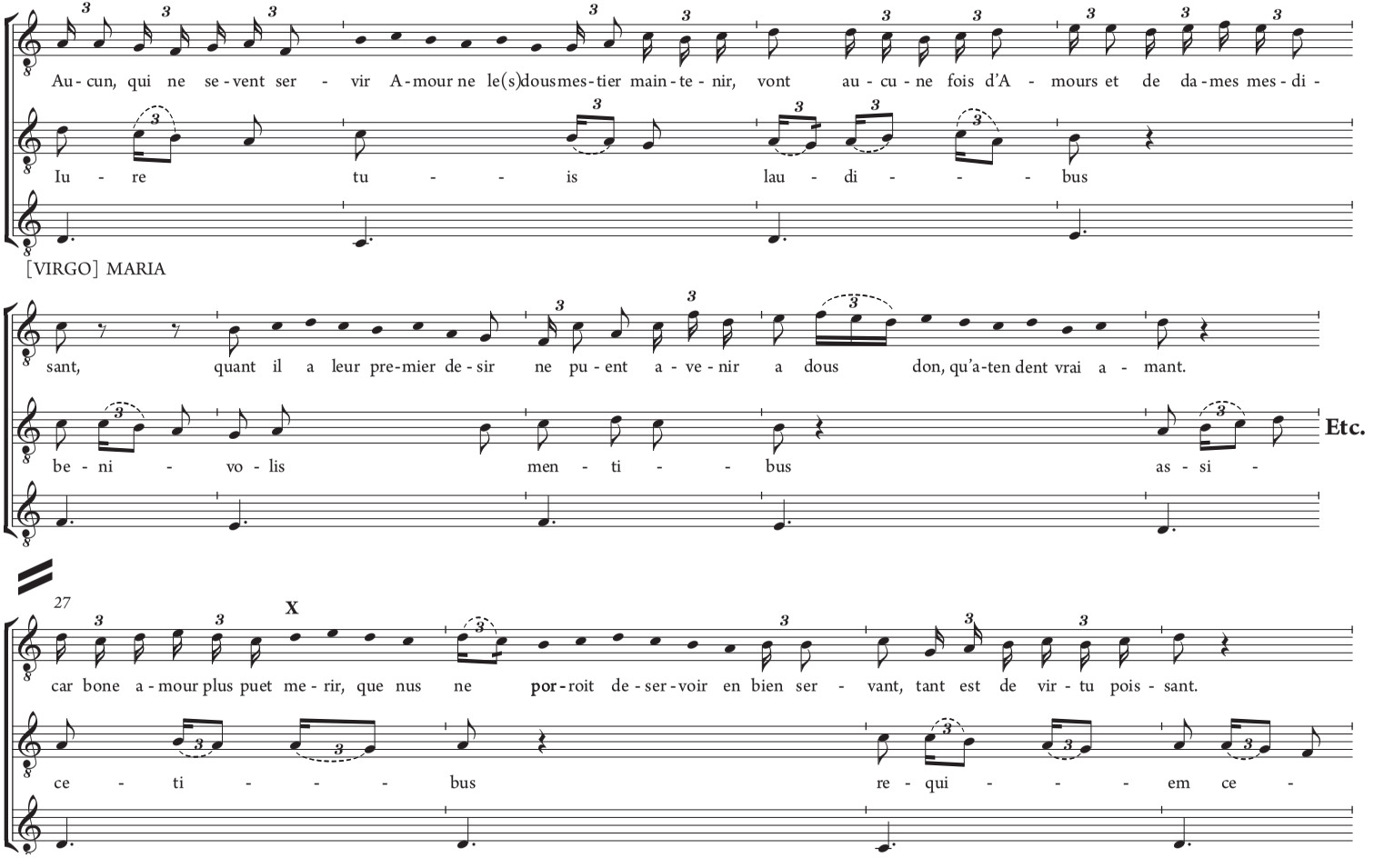
First, where are the phrases with more than three semibreves and what is happening in the other voices at these moments? With only one exception, labelled with an X on perfection 27 (see Example 11.4), every example conforms to the Franconian organal model; the motion stops in the remaining voices as they either pause or hold a note until the group of semibreves is complete. But do they represent a 'penultimate' preceding a brief mensural phrase ending? Musically, at first glance, perhaps not, but when their placement in terms of textual phrases is examined, the answer is yes (see, for example, the first sentence, perfections 1–9). Dividing this sentence into its component parts we arrive at three basic clauses:

1. Some who don't know how to serve Love or keep up the sweet task;
2. sometimes go around speaking ill of love and of ladies;
3. when their first desire is not rewarded with the sweet gift for which true lovers wait.

Where do the multiple semibreves occur? Two of the three groups follow Franco in placing the semibreves before a brief mensural cadential point – *Amour ne le[s] dous*, which comes before the mensural *mestier maintenir* that closes the first clause and is also the first mention of 'love' in the poem; and *qu'atendent vrai amant*, which concludes the sentence and is followed by a brief mensural passage in the motetus voice before the next sentence begins – and the third group occurs on the words 'their first desire' (*leur premier desir*), the crucial phrase of the second clause. In short, the semibreves are specifically placed to highlight the organization of the text and the crucial clauses in the text. There is one instance where the model does not hold, where four semibreves in the triplum occur against two semibreves in the motetus: this is indicated with an X in Example 11.4 and occurs on the words *merir, que nus*. This happens on the third breve of the perfection, a position we consistently see employing passing tones (in first mode), and highlights the sentence: 'For true love, so great is its power, it can offer greater rewards …', which is the crux of the entire motet. It seems reasonable to assume that this rhythmic complexity is meant to call attention to this important phrase in the text.[21] Thus, the text cannot be separated from the music. Given this analysis, and the fact that, in the Petronian motets of **Mo** 7 and 8 that survive in other sources, the semibreves always occur on the same words though their melodic material may change, it seems clear that those words are chosen to highlight the meaning of the poem musically. A degree of freedom on those moments, as Wilson and Wolinski propose, would allow the

[21] In the Petronian motets of **Mo** 7 and 8, there is only one other example of Petronian semibreves in the triplum occurring against a moving line in the motetus: **Mo** 7,254, *Aucun ont trouvé/Lonc tans/ANNUN[TIANTES]*. The poem opens with the following text in the triplum: 'Some compose their songs out of habit, but Love gives me a reason to sing, he who so fills my heart with joy that I have to make a song'. The motetus sings: 'I have long refrained from singing'. The Petronian semibreves occur over the words *resbaudist mon courage* in the triplum against *chanter* in the motetus. See Stakel and Relihan 1985, 81–2. This textual alignment between the voices on 'music composition' and 'singing' seems an ideal place for text painting and displaying a complex compositional device reserved for the rarest occasions.

Ex. 11.4 Perfections 1–9 and 27–30 of **Mo** 8,317.



words and thus the meaning of the poem to rapidly come across to the listener in a way that a quick sputtering of rhythmic activity simply would not.

While more study is needed to explore these aspects of 'play' and improvisation, these tentative steps have aimed to show that, as is the case with other *Ars antiqua* repertoires such as chant and Notre-Dame organum, there is and should be a role for informed improvisation in the late thirteenth-century motet. While these motets do have much in common with their *Ars nova* cousins – particularly in tenor construction and isoperiodicity – the use of the minim stem and notation, which permitted a level of exactitude to note values not known in the thirteenth century, severely curtailed the types of rhythmic and melodic freedoms discussed here. Already in the motets of the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* and their concordances, the melodic flourishes on the weak part of the perfection only vary between sources in terms of the position of the minim stems and dots of division rather than their melodic content. The motets of **Mo** 7 and 8 then seem to represent a final flowering of the *Ars antiqua* rather than the opening bud of the *Ars nova*, and so performers would be advised to consider the methods outlined here to bring to life some of these 'moments of play' inherent in the notation of these repertoires.

CHAPTER 12

# … *Que ne dit 'cief bien seans'*: Quoting Motets in Montpellier 8

ANNE IBOS-AUGÉ

MANY French motets contain refrains, which may or may not have an impact on their compositional process. If this introductory assertion happens to be true in what is commonly considered as the old corpus of the Montpellier codex, the relationship between motets and quotations appears to be slightly different in fascicle 8. Very few compositions, in fact, use true refrains, that is to say, refrains also extant in other narrative and/or lyric works. Instead, some of the French motets of fascicle 8 demonstrate quite a different way of borrowing poetic and/or musical material: they include entire quotations – which are not refrains – taken from other motets. This process also occurs earlier in the manuscript, although rarely. Sometimes, only the text is quoted, as in M25, *Ma loiautés m'a nuisi* (**Mo** 5,176, fol. 225v),[1] which reproduces the same incipit as M147 (**Mo** 2,28, fol. 42r).[2] But in other polyphonic compositions, text *and* music are similar. For instance, M9, *Amoureusement me tient* (**Mo** 5,76, fol. 114v), quotes 'pour moi deduire et pour moi deporter', which begins M28 (**Mo** 2,24, fol. 36v); M297, *Mout me fu grief li departir* (**Mo** 7,265, fol. 292r), begins with the same incipit as M196, *Mout me fu griés li departir* (**Mo** 3,37, fol. 66v), and the entire motetus significantly quotes other poetico-musical fragments taken from M196.

In **Mo** 8, three motets use textual and musical quotations of material that occurs in the previous fascicles. The triplum of *Se je sui/Jolietement/OMNES* (**Mo** 8,316) quotes, at its close, the incipit of Adam de la Halle's *Entre Adan et Hanikel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* (**Mo** 7,258). By contrast, *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* (**Mo** 8,309) and *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT* (**Mo** 8,312) quote no fewer than four different fragments from other compositions copied in the previous fascicles of the manuscript. I will focus on the latter two motets, whose quotations reveal a complex background of

[1] As this essay also concerns motets that are not in fascicle 8, nor even in **Mo**, the numbers given to motets and preceeded by M are Ludwig's. See Ludwig (1910) 1964 and Gennrich 1957.

[2] This also happens in trouvère songs: Gace Brulé, in the 'envoi' of Spanke 1955, no. 857, *En cel tens que voi frimer*, mentions the incipit of a Moniot de Paris song, Spanke 1955, no. 1216, *Bone amor sans tricherie*.

cross-references between multiple texts and melodies. Both fascicle 8 motets are built on vernacular tenors; all the quotations come from three-part motets; and all quotations reproduce a motet-voice incipit. However, their poetic registers are very different, and the quoting voice in *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* is the triplum, whereas in *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT* it is the motetus.

## TEXT AND MUSIC IN *PAR UNE MATINEE/O CLEMENCIE/D'UN JOLI DART*

### Text

The text of this motet combines a *chanson de rencontre*, a Latin prayer to the Virgin Mary, and a *pastourelle à refrain* (Spanke 1955, no. 1256, *Defors Compiegne l'autrier*, here beginning and ending with the refrain), which is also the tenor of another **Mo** 8 motet (8,321). As shown in Table 12.1,[3] the triplum seems more or less made up of stock textual phrases, elaborating a discourse that goes from the classical spring opening to the lady's final answer to the poet. The *rencontre* takes place on an early morning in spring, while the poet-singer plays in an orchard. The description of the lady uses terms common in love songs: she is worthy, beautiful, honourable, and good. Then, the narrator evokes his dismay, and begs the lady for mercy – another topos coming from *courtoisie* – to which she responds 'sir, your love is very pleasing to me' (*sire, vostre amour* <u>*forment m'agree*</u>), borrowing her words from the tenor of the motet itself.

As for the sources of the texts, only M807 comes from fascicle 3; all other borrowed texts are copied in fascicle 7. They are either triplum or motetus texts, and all quotations – except the textual refrain *j'atenc merci, s'il vous plaist je l'arai* – are taken from the beginnings of these motets. In the copy of *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* in **Mo** 8 there is no visual distinction that marks the quotations, but two quotations are significantly described in the triplum text as being sung: *et chantant la saluai* and *me fait chanter*. As seen in Table 12.2, which compares the texts of the motets and underlines their concordances, in M896 the poet meets his lady and offers her love, which she accepts in the end. In M807 the poet witnesses the meeting between Robin and Marot; he watches them and departs. In M363 the poet prays for love and his lady agrees to love him because of his loyalty. In M881 and M885 the poet prays for love, saying that he will die if his lady does not love him. In M611 the poet hopes that his lady will love him but does not dare to declare his love.

The first quotation asserts the poetic genre: it is not a traditional 'pastourelle', but a *chanson de rencontre*. There is no attempt to buy the shepherdess's love by a present, no underlying sexual violence, no rape, no tears. The second quotation marks an evolution, from this 'pastourelle-*rencontre*' genre to the register of *courtoisie*: the lady is not a shepherdess but a 'real lady'. This is evident from the beginning

[3] Unless indicated otherwise, bold and underlined text is used through to indicate a textual and musical quotation. Bold text alone shows a purely musical quotation. Underlined words indicate a purely textual quotation. Refrains are shown in italics. Majuscule letters in manuscript sources are indicated by small capitals.

Table 12.1 *Par une matinee* and its quotations

| *Text* | *Quotations* | *Translation* |
|---|---|---|
| **Par une matinee, el moys joli d'avril**, | M807 (incipit): text/music | One morning, in the joyous month of April, I went out to play; in a flowering orchard I found a pleasing lady and, singing, greeted her: 'Oh, lady of worth and beauty, full of honour and of great goodness, on your account have I long been greatly dismayed. I know that I will die if you do not have mercy, for the sweet thoughts which I have make me sing: I must pray above every other thing love, that makes me so gay; I await mercy, and if it is pleasing to you, I will have it.' She replied like a proper lady: 'Sir, your love is very pleasing to me.' |
| jouer ala[i]; en un vergier flori | M807: text | |
| dame plaisant trouvai | | |
| et, **chantant**, **la saluai**: | M363: music | |
| 'hé, **dame de valour** | M363 (incipit): text/music | |
| **et de biauté**, | | |
| **plaine d'ounour** | | |
| **et de grant bonté**, | | |
| pour vous ai lonc tans esté | | |
| **en grant esmay**; | M881: music | |
| si sai bien que je morrai | M363: text | |
| se merchi n'ai, | | |
| car **li dous penser** que j'ai | M881 (incipit): text/music | |
| me fait chanter: | | |
| **bien me doit seur toute riens d'amour loer** | M611 (incipit): text/music | |
| qui si me tient gay; | | |
| *j'atenc merci, s'il vous plaist, je l'aurai*.' | vdB 1022 (*Jalousie* [var], M885): text | |
| Ele respont comme dame senee: | | |
| 'sire, vostre amour forment m'agree.' | M896 (tenor): text | |

Translation from Stakel and Relihan 1985, 105.

Table 12.2 M896 and its quotations: textual comparison

| *M896 (**Mo** 8,309, fol. 355va, triplum); meeting song* | *M807 (**Mo** 3,40, fol.72v, triplum); meeting song* | *M363 (**Mo** 7,281, fol. 318ra, triplum); courtly song* |
|---|---|---|
| **PAr une matinee, el moys joli d'avril**,<br>jouer ala[i]<br>en un vergier flori;<br>dame plaisant trouvai<br>et **chantant la saluai**:<br>"'hé, **dame de valour et de biauté**,<br>**plaine d'ounour et de grant bonté**,<br>pour vous ai lonc tans esté<br>**en grant esmay**;<br>si sai bien que je morrai<br>se merchi n'ai,<br>car **li dous penser** que j'ai<br>me fait chanter:<br>**bien me doit seur toute riens d'amour loer**<br>qui si me tient gay;<br>*j'atenc merci,*<br>*s'il vous plaist, je l'aurai*.'<br>Ele respont comme dame senee:<br>'sire, vostre amour forment m'agree.' | **Par une matinee el mois joli d'avril**,<br>Mariete ai trovee<br>regretant son ami;<br>en un pré flori<br>soz un glai foilli,<br>un chant mout ioli<br>d'oisillonés, chantans<br>en un boschet entor mi;<br>si com aloie esbatant<br>et pensant,<br>si oï,<br>si fui resbaudi<br>et s'en fui resjoï;<br>s'oi Marot disant:<br>'biaus doz amis robin<br>que j'aim mout et de finz,<br>amorous et jolis,<br>por quoi demorés vous<br>tant?' Ainsi se va dementant<br>la bele blonde en sospirant;<br>d'iluec a poi venoit Robin<br>chantant;<br>encontre lui s'en va marot<br>mout grant ioie fesant;<br>trestout maintenant<br>icil dui amant,<br>lor jeu demenant,<br>vont; et je m'en part atant. | **DAme de valour et de bonté**,<br>**plaine d'amours et de grant biauté**,<br>pour vous sui si pris<br>et si sourpris<br>qu'a vous sunt tuit mi penser<br>de cuer sanz fausser;<br>**s'en chanterai**:<br>'*amouretes*<br>*ai jolietes,*<br>*s'amerai*'.<br>Hé Diex, trés dous Diex, las,<br>bien croi que morrai;<br>més sa debonaireté<br>tient mon cuer en joie doucement<br>quar je l'ai servie loiaument. |

Bold and underlined text is reserved for incipit quotations with musical concordances or similarities.

| *M881 (**Mo** 7,280, fol.314rb, motetus); request to the lady* | *M611 (**Mo** 7,262, fol.286r, triplum); homage to the lady* | *M885 (**Mo** 7,291, fol.330rb, motetus); request to the lady* |
|---|---|---|
| **Li dous pensers** qui me<br>vient de celi<br>que j'aim de cuer quar tous<br>jourz l'ai servie<br>sans guiler,<br>et bons espoirs que j'ai d'avoir<br>merci,<br>fait ma grant joie doubler<br>et mon fin cuer resbaudir et<br>chanter;<br>s'en sui plus jolis<br>quar nus ne porroit penser<br>la grant biauté, pour qui<br>je sui si pris<br>et espris<br>tant est plaisant et de bele<br>façon<br>cele a cui sui amis;<br>plaine est de bonté<br>de valour et de pris,<br>de courtoisie et de trés grant<br>renon;<br>s'en est mon cuer si souspris<br>que je ne puis plus durer<br>se n'ai prochain secours;<br>douce dame, par amours,<br>a mains jointes vous cri<br>merci,<br>que m'alegiés ma grant dolour<br>ou, se ce non, il me convient<br>morir<br>sans retour.<br>Quar pour grieté ne por<br>torment souffrir,<br>ne m'en quier departir<br>a nul jour,<br>et se j'ai la vostre amour,<br>mis m'avés **en grant bau-**<br>**dour** … | **Bien me doi sor toutes<br>riens d'amour loer**<br>quant en si haut lieu m'a fait<br>mon cuer douner,<br>dont je le doi a tous jours<br>mercier<br>con fins amans<br>car onques ne me peut grever<br>nus maus ce m'est auvs<br>k'avoir me feïst sentir<br>pour la bele au vis cler;<br>douz Diex, je l'aim tant<br>que je ne puis oublier<br>sa trés grant biauté<br>qui nuit et jour<br>me fait a li penser<br>et souuent souspirer,<br>et sa grant valour,<br>son sens et sa bonté<br>k'on doit bien recorder<br>k'on ne porroit mie trouver<br>plus vaillant de celi<br>ki si m'a saisi.<br>Aymi Diex, aymi<br>ne me porroie plus tenir<br>que je n'i alasse tout main-<br>tenant<br>parler a li;<br>més je la criem si<br>que mon penser ne li ose<br>descouvrir,<br>car trop n'aroit maubailli<br>s'amour avoie failli;<br>et pour ce en chantant li pri<br>k'elle me voelle retenir<br>a ami;<br>kar ausi<br>m'en doinst diex joïr<br>comme je l'ai loiaument<br>en boine foi servi. | Dame, alegiés ma grevance<br>en boine foi,<br>dont sui en doutance,<br>je vous proi;<br>quant je vous voi,<br>nus n'a plus joli cuer de moi;<br>pour vous renvoisier me doi;<br>si sai bien dire pour koi,<br>car vo cors plaisanz et vo<br>simples samblans<br>me dounent comfort du mal<br>que j'ai;<br>*j'atent merci; s'il vous plaist,<br>je l'arai*;<br>ja pour bien amer ne la<br>perdrai,<br>et se g'i fall, tous jours mais<br>languirai<br>ne ja de cest mal ne gairirai;<br>aymi, douz Diex vrais,<br>hé Diex, que ferai?<br>Mors sui se je n'ai merci. |

of the song itself: after the first enunciation of the refrain, M896 borrows her description from a typical song of praise in a *courtois* genre, enumerating *in medias res* all the lady's qualities. The text is slightly changed: the lady's beauty comes first, then her goodness (in M363, the lady is full of goodness, then of beauty), and her honour replaces her love. Moreover – and this seems significant – the poet, in the model, is sure that he will be loved, because he served his lady loyally. The three other quotations are taken from prayers and homages to the lady, always described with the same terms: *biauté*, *valour*, *bonté*, *plaisance*, *vaillance*, and so forth. The poet hopes and, as he has served loyally, he appears self-confident, despite the possibility of rejection.

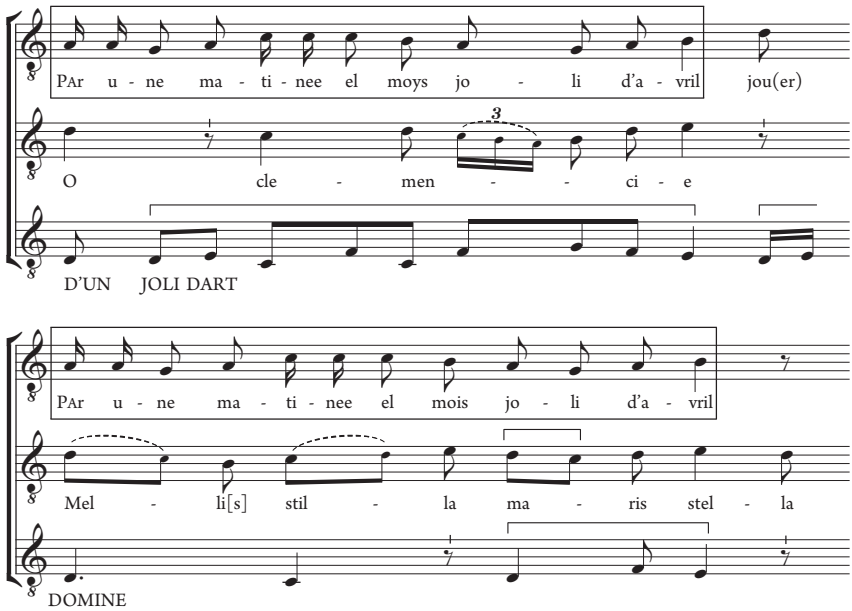
This underlying self-assurance reveals itself to be important, since all the motets hosting the quotations describe a happy-ending love. In M807, Marot sings in despair because Robin has not come yet, but they finally make love when he arrives; in M363 and M611, the poet thinks that he will die, but claims that his lady loves him because he has been loyal to her; the last lines of M881 say that the poet will be happy if his lady loves him, and, at the beginning of the text, he had *bon espoir d'avoir merci*. All the motets that are musically quoted in *Par une matinee*, then, speak of requited love. Paradoxically, the only motet in which the poet doubts is M885, from which the quotation is not musical but only textual. The succession of the borrowed texts thus seems to lead the poet naturally to the happy end that closes *Par une matinee*: after having been *en grant esmay*, the poet says that love *le tient gay* and, at the very end, the lady answers to his love: *sire, vostre amour forment m'agree*.

## Music

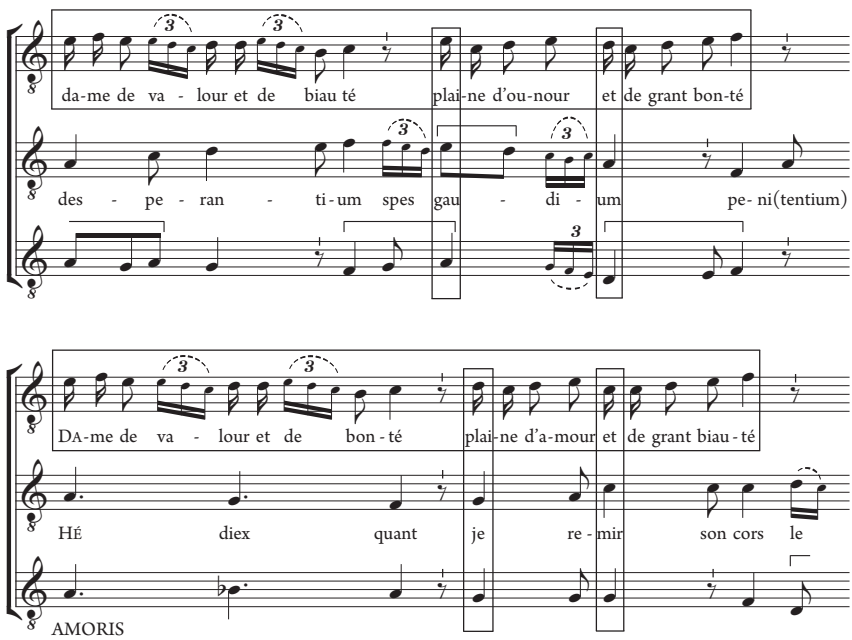
This motet tenor employs a *chanson à refrain* structure, in which a refrain opens and ends a song. Textually it describes, like the triplum, the meeting of the poet and a shepherdess. Musically, it is of the form ab (refrain), AABb (verse), ab (refrain) (see Appendix 1, p. 227).

Although the triplum is made up of various quotations (either textual or musical or both), the motetus has no musical concordances in other motets, despite its textual clichés. All the musical quotations are copied at the same pitch as in the motet they come from and any slight variants are introduced because of polyphonic combination with the tenor (Examples 12.1–12.4). The links between the quotations, which apparently structure the whole triplum, are revealing. As perfs 1–6 play on alternate syllabic semibreves and breves, perfs 7–9 introduce groups of three semibreves (triplets in the transcription), as an image of the valorous and good lady. This prefigures the quotation in perfs 10–19, which illustrates the *dame de valour* by a series of three-semibreve groups, and is also linked, in the motetus, to the image of the *clemencie fons*, the Virgin Mary, then with thoughts of love and willingness to praise love. In M807, the same rhythmic succession of semibreves and breves continues after the opening, introducing the shepherdess: M896 takes a significantly different approach and something here has obviously changed. The same rhythmic

Ex. 12.1 *Par une matinee, el moys joli d'avril* in M896 and M807 (perfs 1–4).




Ex. 12.2 *Dame de valour* in M896 (perfs 14–19) and M363 (perfs 1–6).



Ex. 12.3 *Li dous penser* in M896 (perfs 30–2) and M881 (perfs 1–4).

li dous pen - ser que j'ai me fait chan - ter
mi - se - ris ad - - ju(torium)
QUi a-mours veut main-te - nir et ser - vir lo - iau - ment sans fau(ser)
LI dous pen - sers qui me vient de ce - li
CIS A CUI JE SUI A - MI - E EST

Ex. 12.4 *Bien me doi* in M896 (perfs 33–5) and M611 (perfs 1–3).

bien me doi seur tou - te riens d'a - mour lo - er qui
to - ri - um de - pre -
BIen me doi sor tou - tes riens d'a - mour lo - er quant en
JE n'ai que que nus en
KYRIE FONS

figure also appears to illustrate the praise for mercy (perfs 38–41) and, lastly, the lady's affirmative response: *vostre amour forment m'agree*. The similarities between perfections 7–11, 36–40, and 46–51 – all based upon the same section (b) of the tenor melody – links the lady encountered at the beginning of the motet, the poet's plea for mercy and the lady's response.

Two other polyphonic blocks link the lady's beauty to the poet's dismay: the melody associated with the dismay is significantly superimposed above the final joy of the poet in M881, as if the 'great dismay' was due to be replaced – as it is, thanks to the consenting lady – by a 'great joy'. Two final borrowings in *Par une matinee* are particularly striking: the melody accompanying the rhyme *jouer alai* in perfs 4–6 is re-used in the triplum for *chantant la saluai* in perfs 10–12. This very same melodic and rhythmic formula is used in M363 for line 9, *s'en chanterai*, linking the two motets at the precise moment where, in *Par une matinee*, the poet has found his *dame de valour*.

Beyond the cases of similar 'polyphonic entities' (as can be seen when comparing boxes A, A′, and A″, i.e. perfs 7–11, 36–40, and 47–51),[4] *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* appears to depend very much on the musico-poetic elements chosen from other **Mo** motets quoted in its triplum: it begins like a *chanson de rencontre*, but replaces the shepherdess with a valorous lady, musically figured by a rhythmic formula made of groups of semibreves, connecting her to the thoughts of love, the demand for mercy, and the joyful love of the end, while it also links her to the merciful lady among the ladies, the Virgin Mary. Lastly, we can also find in this motet other hints about the 'quoted motets': the love songs and the dismay replaced by the joy of the poet, all of them contributing to lead to the happy ending that characterizes all these motets: *sire, vostre amour forment m'agree*.

## TEXT AND MUSIC IN *AU TANS NOUVEL/ CHELE M'A TOLLU/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT*

### Text

The quotations chosen for the triplum of my first example were taken from fascicles 3 and 7, involving text, music, and a combination of both. The five quotations found in this second motet are in the motetus; four come from fascicle 5 motets and the last one from a unicum in **Tu**. All the quotations involve both text and music. Table 12.3 shows the text of the motetus and its borrowed material. M511/512 is found in fascicle 5 (this motet is also linked to fascicle 8 by its motetus, which serves as tenor to *Dame, que je n'os noumer/Amis, dont est engenree/LONC TANS*, fol. 389r). M374 and M707 are also found in fascicle 5. The final motet, M890, survives only in **Tu**. These quotations are hosted in both tripla and

[4] See Appendix 1, p. 227, for a complete analysis of the motet.

Table 12.3 *Chele m'a tollu* and its quotations

| *Text* | *Quotations* | *Translation* |
|---|---|---|
| **Chele m'a** | M511 (incipit): text(var)/music | This one took away the joy that I had; I served her loyally |
| **tollu ma joie** | | for a long time. But recently I am frequently overcome with |
| que j'avoie; | | a great fright, because she says that many, with little display |
| **lonc tans a** | M512 (incipit): text/music | of fear, have, to her displeasure, conducted themselves |
| servie trés loiaument, | | poorly. She means me by that, for I have long, I am afraid it |
| car nouvelement | | seems very little to her, sought her love; and, out of anger, |
| **En grant effroi sui souvent** | M374 (incipit): text/music | she told me that he who loves intensely and has no foolish |
| de ce que dist, que par poi de cremour | | thoughts elsewhere should tremble merely by looking at |
| maint **Maubatus longuement en son plour**. | M707 (incipit): text/music | his lady. |
| Pour moi l'entent, | | |
| qui longuement, | | |
| et celi samble a poi paour | | |
| ai requis s'amour; | | |
| et m'a dit par mautalent | | |
| que seul en sa dame esgarder | | |
| qui forment aime, et **sans penser folour** | | |
| doit on trambler. | M890 (incipit): text/music | |

Translation from Stakel and Relihan 1985, 106–7.

motetus, and, like the text–music quotations in *Par une matinee*, they are taken from the beginnings of the motets. None of the quotations is said to be sung, but three of them begin with upper-case letters in **Mo** 8, a common scribal convention to indicate quotation (Table 12.4). All six motet texts are love songs, dealing with the pain of love. They present the poet himself, speaking to or remembering his lady; the lexical field includes pain, fear, begging for mercy, death of love, and loyalty. Like *Par une matinee*, M901 tells a story about the poet and his lady, but this is a story of pain and anger: the poet claims that he has served his lady loyally, but she proclaims her anger – parallel to the anger expressed by the nightingale's wife in the triplum – with men who act poorly. Finally, she tells the poet that he should tremble by looking at her, even if he loves her and acts loyally. This stands in sharp contrast to the other motet's happy ending. The succession of the motets evoked by the quotations in *Chele m'a tollu* leads from pain to fear and despair. In spite of this, the poet continues to love, and claims that his love allows him to forget pain.

## Music

The tenor, which begins like the motetus of a motet copied in the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*,[5] resembles a rondeau, every musical element repeating the previous one, in full or in a reduced version, according to an AA′A″ A A AA′A″ AA′A″ scheme (Appendix 2, pp. 228–30).[6] In the triplum, the poet watches a pair of nightingales arguing, the quarrel ending with a praise of honour and loyalty. Unlike *Par une matinee*, the musico-poetico quotations occur at a different pitch level than in the host motet (Examples 12.5–12.8).

As in *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART*, in *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT*, some recurrent elements structure the musical discourse.[7] The most important is a short rhythmic and melodic cell, a descending fourth *G–F–E–D*. This characterizes the quotations, most of the time in its 'x' form (*En grant effroi* and *Maubatus*), but occasionally varied (*Chele m'a tollu* moves the semitone, *Sans penser folour* begins with an ascending minor third) or transposed.

Another recurrent element ('a' and derived versions in the transcription) occurs at the *Maubatus longuement* quotation, and the opening of the triplum (perfs 25–27 and 1–4). At the repetition of *longuement* this motive reappears over the same portion of the tenor (perfs 32–4). This same motive ('a') occurs three more times (perfs 12–13, 21–2, and 48–9), also in the motetus, and always above the same tenor passage. The first time can be associated with *nouvelement*, as a symbolic response to the *tans nouvel* that opens the triplum. The others associate those who have little

[5] *La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouveletement amie/GRANT DESPIT AI JE* is copied in **Fauv**, fol. 15vb.

[6] The A marked in bold here – AA′A″ A **A** AA′A″ AA′A″ – lacks the *plica* on perf. 24.

[7] See Appendix 2, pp. 228–30, for a complete analysis of the motet.

Table 12.4 M901 and its quotations: textual comparison

| *M901 (**Mo** 8,312, fol. 359vb, motetus); love song (pains of love)* | *M511 (**Mo** 5,78, fol. 116v, triplum); love song (pains of love)* | *M512 (**Mo** 5,78, fol. 117r, motetus); love song (pains of love)* |
|---|---|---|
| **Chele m'a**<br>**tollu ma joie**<br>que j'avoie;<br>**Lonc tans a**<br>servie trés loiaument,<br>car nouvelement<br>**En grant effroi sui souvent**<br>de ce que dist, que par poi de cremour<br>maint **Maubatus longuement en son plour**.<br>Pour moi l'entent,<br>qui longuement,<br>et celi samble a poi paour<br>ai requis s'amour;<br>et m'a dit par mautalent<br>que seul en sa dame esgarder<br>qui forment aime, et **sans penser folour**<br>doit on trambler. | **Cele m'a tolu la vie**<br>qui lonc tans m'a fet grief mau sentir;<br>car pour s'amour<br>pleur,<br>de cuer souspir;<br>c'est la riens del mont que plus desir,<br>n'ainc n'en poi joïr;<br>si me covendra languir<br>et dolour souffrir<br>et nuit et jour;<br>et tout son plaisir<br>ferai tous jours,<br>que que m'en doie avenir;<br>si la servirai,<br>n'autre amie n'aurai;<br>adés l'amerai<br>ne ja ne m'en partirai. | **Lonc tens a**<br>que ne vi m'amie;<br>trop me greva<br>quant m'en covint partir,<br>car je l'aim et desir;<br>trop m'aïr<br>quant pour li servir<br>m'estuet languir,<br>et si ne m'en puis tenir;<br>quant la remir,<br>de cuer souspir,<br>si que tout me fait fremir,<br>car je l'aim de fin cuer sans mentir;<br>n'en puis joïr,<br>Diex, ne repentir;<br>si m'estuet souffrir<br>les maus dont je ne puis garir. |

display of fear (*par poi de cremour*) and those who, even if they love intensely (*forment aime*), have to tremble when they look at their lady.

Another significant recurrence occurs three times in the upper voices in conjunction with the second part of the A material in the tenor. It links musically the textual mentions of the lovers (triplum, perfs 5–7), the pair of nightingales (triplum, perfs 18–20), and the lady (motetus, perfs 45–7). Finally, the poet (who served his lady, motetus, perfs 9–11), the lady (who ignores the poet, motetus, perfs 36–8), and the nightingale (who sings, and hence duplicates the notes, triplum, perfs 42–4) respond to each other in the motetus and triplum voices, with another melodic phrase, again consistently associated with the same passage of the tenor.

## CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions may be drawn from this close examination of these two motets quoting motets? The two pieces are similar because they make extensive use of musico-poetic quotations, but the ways in which they use them differ. *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* quotes motets copied in fascicles 3 and 7, without any visual signification of quoted material in **Mo** 8. *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT* also quotes motets copied earlier in **Mo**, but it additionally refers to a unique **Tu** motet extant only outside **Mo**, and most of its quotations begin with an upper-case letter. Yet, in both

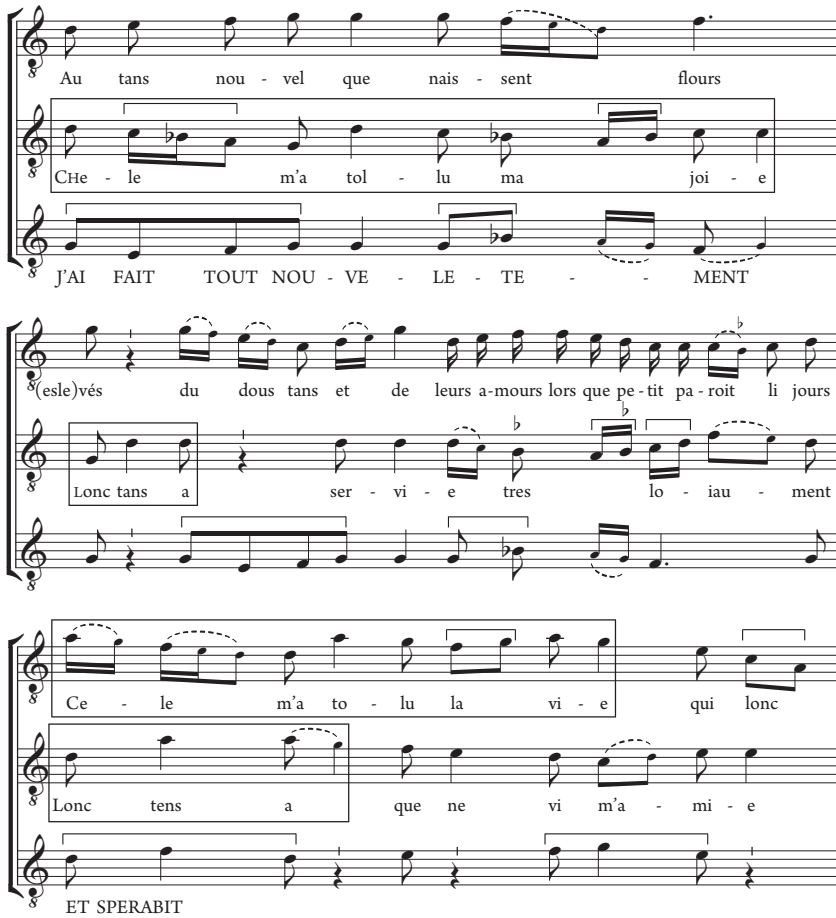
| *M374 (**Mo** 5,83, fol. 123r, motetus); love song (prayer to the lady)* | *M707 (**Mo** 5,92, fol. 131r, motetus); love song (pains of love)* | *M890 (**Tu** fol. 21va, triplum); love song (the poet remembers his lady)* |
|---|---|---|
| **En grant esfroi sui sovent**<br>pour merci querre a celi<br>ou mes cuers s'atent;<br>Diex, por quoi l'aim tant<br>quant pitié ne truis en li?<br>Et voit que mes mains li tens<br>et si docement li pri:<br>'*Bele, aiés de moi merci,*<br>*car pour vos muir.*' | **Maubatus longuement**<br>pleure<br>et par costume demeure<br>plus longuement **en son plour**;<br>més li batuz a retour<br>a de son mestre paour<br>qu'adés sus ne li requeure;<br>por ce mains pas n'i demeur,<br>qui [sui] batus plus qu'a gas;<br>ainz atent c'om me sequeure,<br>si suefre de jor en jour<br>mon meschief, et d'eure en eure,<br>en espoir d'avoir solaz;<br>et di par crieme a Amors<br>quant m'a batu plus q'un las:<br>'Amour, je ne m'en plaig pas<br>de mes dolours.' | **Sens penser folur**<br>ai servi tote ma vie<br>dou mons la melhour;<br>ne ja por riens c'om en die<br>ne ferai retur;<br>cant je remir sa colur,<br>lor moi semble k'elle rie<br>par douchur;<br>et si moi premier l'onur,<br>k'amours m'a fait desireir<br>mains jour,<br>s'en oblie ma dolur |

cases, the host sources of these quotations enhance the meaning of the new motets. In the first case, various genres are chosen, from the *chanson de rencontre* to the courtly song praising the lady, all of them featuring the happy ending, confirmed by the **Mo** 8 motet, which reveals exactly the same succession of moments. This suggests that the quotations were chosen for that precise reason. In the second case, *Chele m'a tollu* quotes from motets which are very similar generically, all courtly songs, dealing more or less with the pains of love. This is also an exact parallel with the new **Mo** 8 motet, and, although less complex than in the first example, it seems once again to have inspired the selection of quotations.

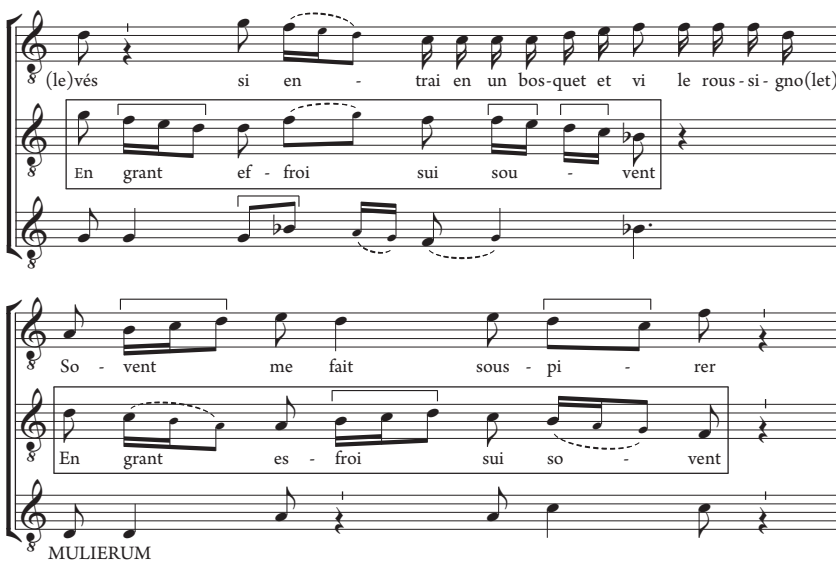
The musical story of these quotational and compositional process differs, however. *Par une matinee* mainly uses a rhythmic formula, taken from the second quotation, that links the lady, the Virgin, the plea for mercy, and the willing response given by the poet's lady. But the main recurrences and musical similarities come from the structure of the tenor and from polyphonic combinations associated with certain sequences. *Chele m'a tollu* is in this instance more complex: it uses multiple motives – some of them associated with a particular tenor passage, some not – and a simple rhythmic and melodic formula, as in the other motet, serves as a link between the quotations themselves. Arguably, therefore, this musical overlap may have inspired the decision to introduce the quotations.

In spite of these differences, the process of intertextual quotation revealed here indicates that these motet creators had knowledge of the motet repertoire. That

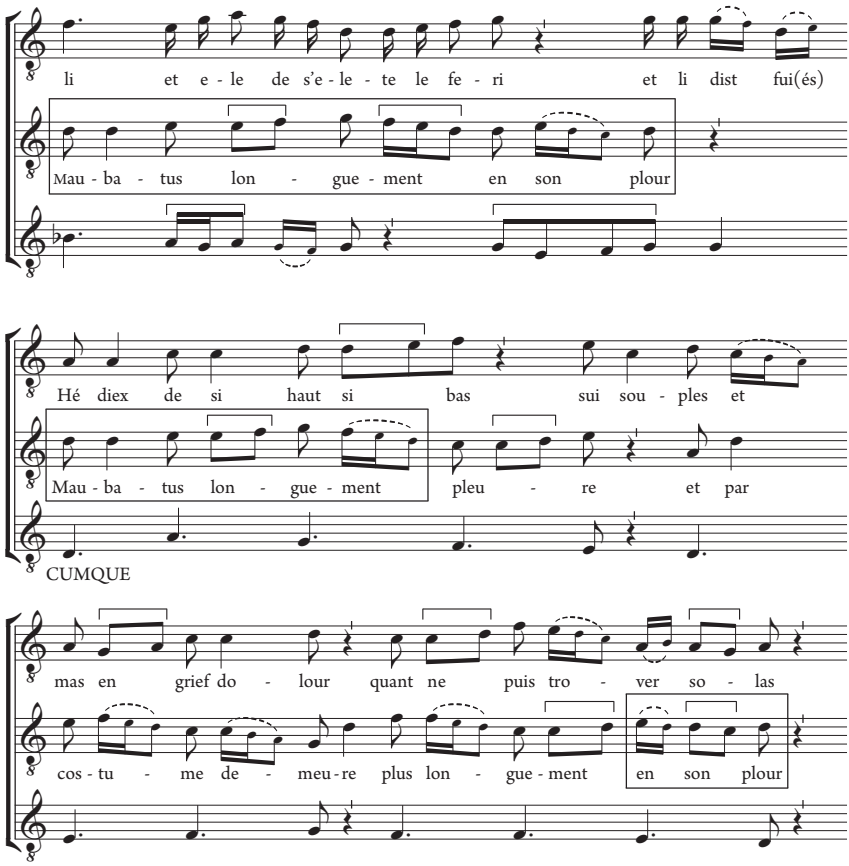
Ex. 12.5 *Chele m'a tollu* and *Lonc tans a* in M901 (perfs 1–4 and 7–12) and M511 (perfs 1–5).



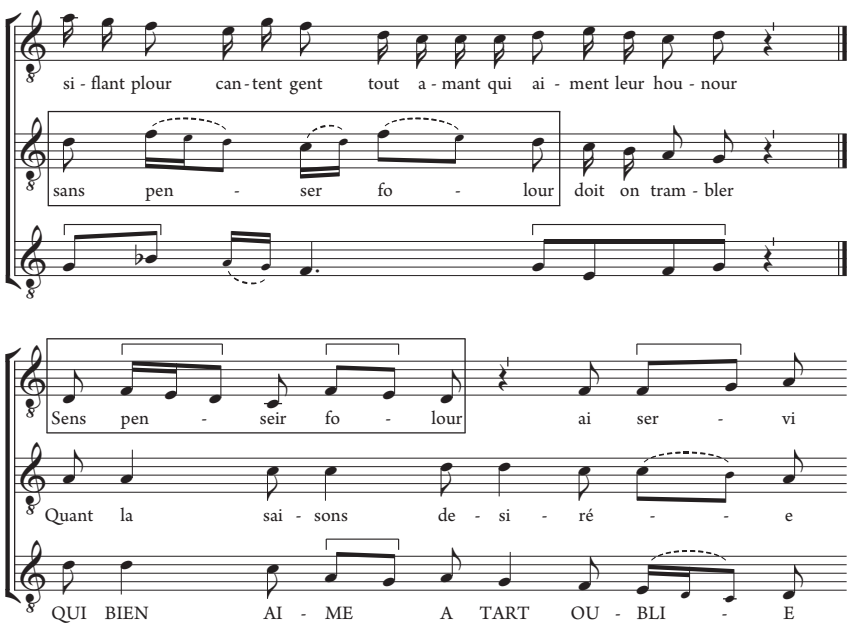

Ex. 12.6 *En grant effroi* in M901 (perfs 15–18) and M374 (perfs 1–4).



Ex. 12.7 *Maubatus longuement* in M901 (perfs 25–9) and M707 (perfs 1–3 and 12–13).



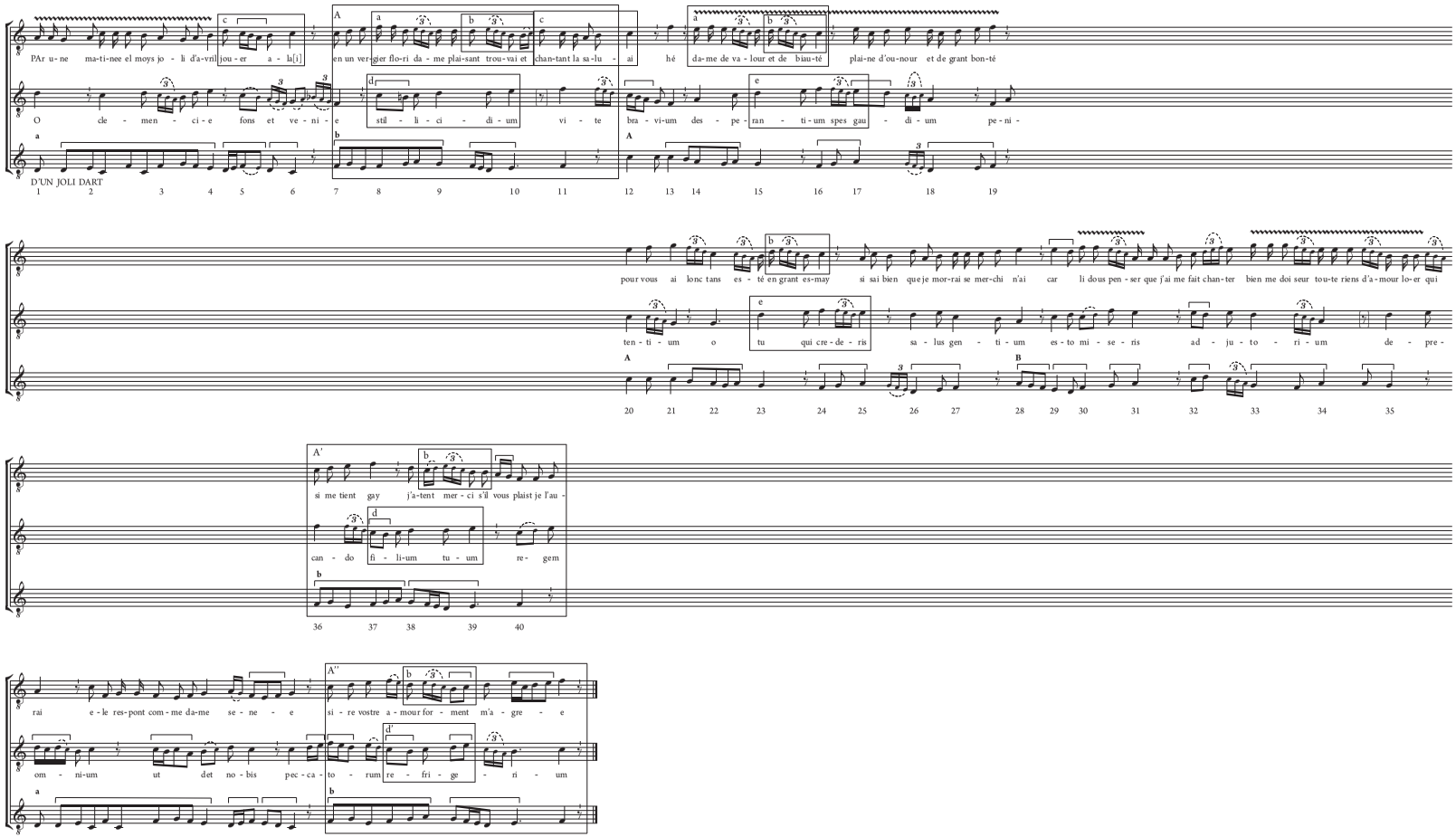

Ex. 12.8 *Sans penser folour* in M901 (perfs 50–3) and M890 (perfs 1–5).



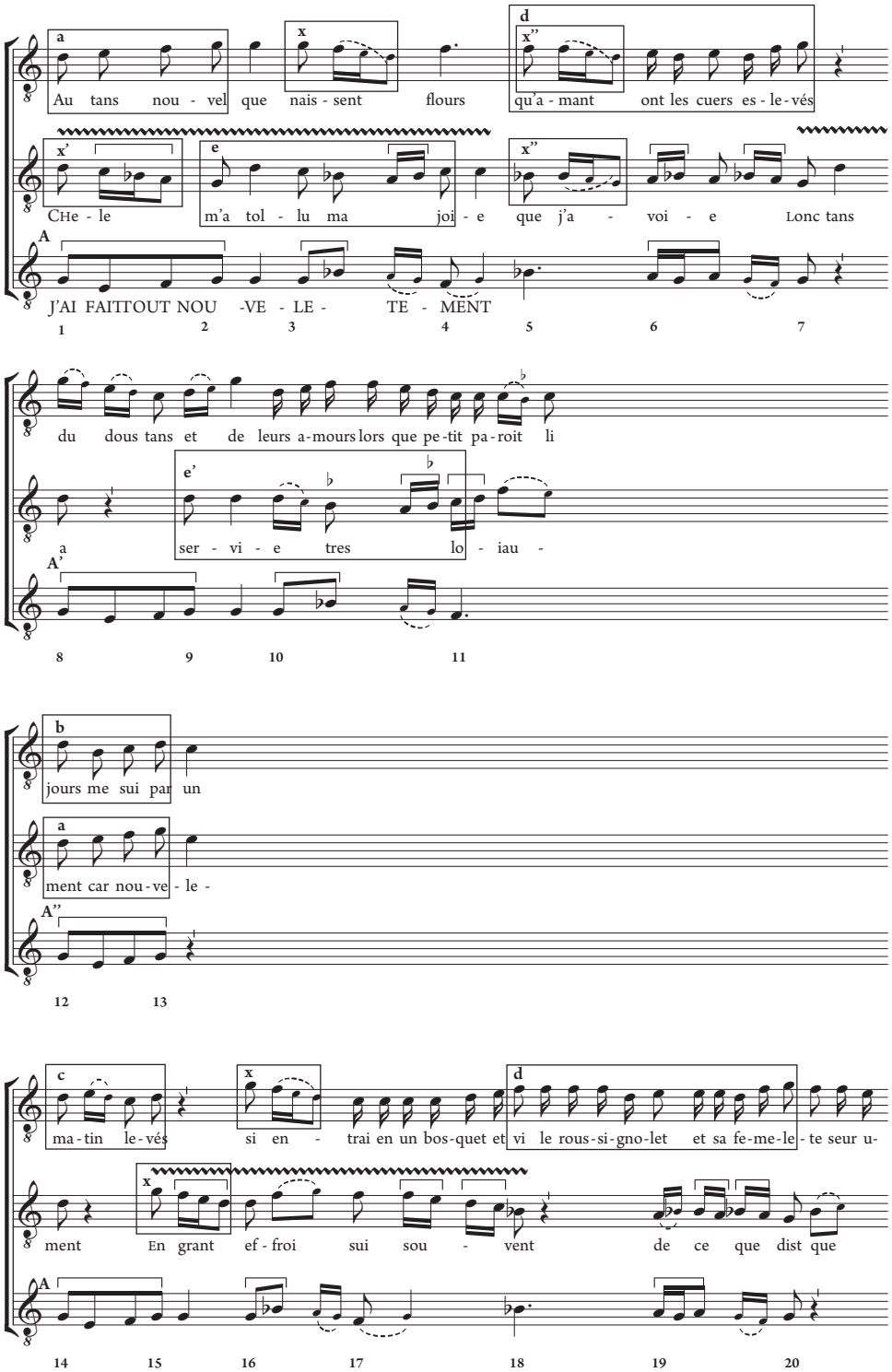
is, they knew the music copied in the previous fascicles of the Montpellier codex, as well as motets more broadly (though the choice of a unicum from **Tu** remains difficult to explain: why, for instance, this particular motet?).[8] Textual quotations are a frequent process in the medieval literary corpus, but the musical dimension of the textual quotations used here gives them greater impact. These two fascicle eight motets reveal a subtle network of close links between the quotations and the host motets as a whole. The choice of the quotations seems to drive the conception of the musical structure of the motets and it is, at the same time, a new compositional approach, linking the chosen works and their musical material in a new way. Furthermore, the quotations seem to have been selected not only for their poetic content but also for their musical similarities. This contributes to a multi-dimensional intertextual and intermusical game, resulting in a significant and sophisticated compositional unity within these polyphonic motets.

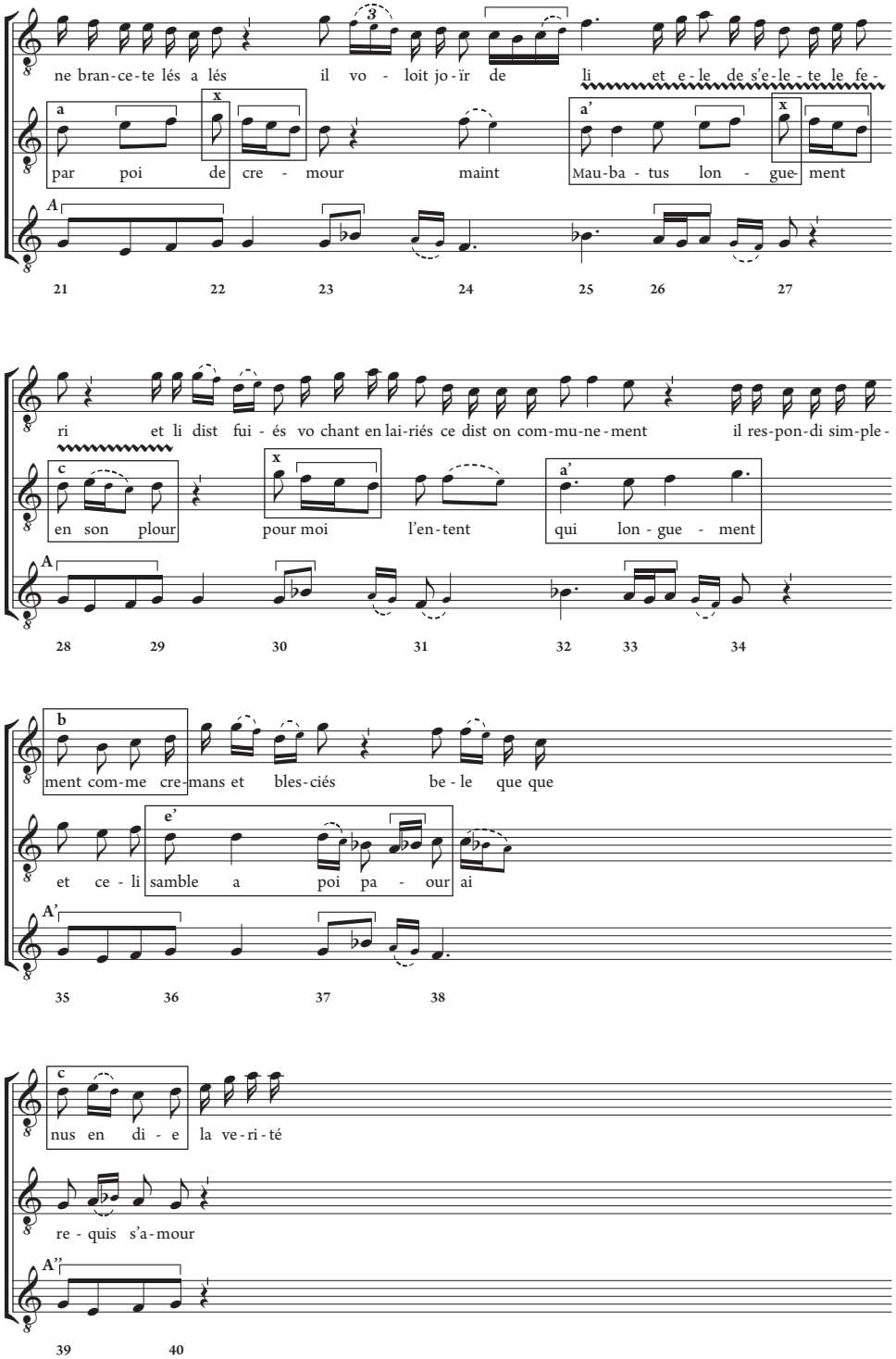
[8] This codex may be from Walloonia, possibly Liège: see Chapter 6 in the current volume by Eva Maschke. The choice of this **Tu** unicum is a convincing argument in favour of the wide diffusion of this repertoire.

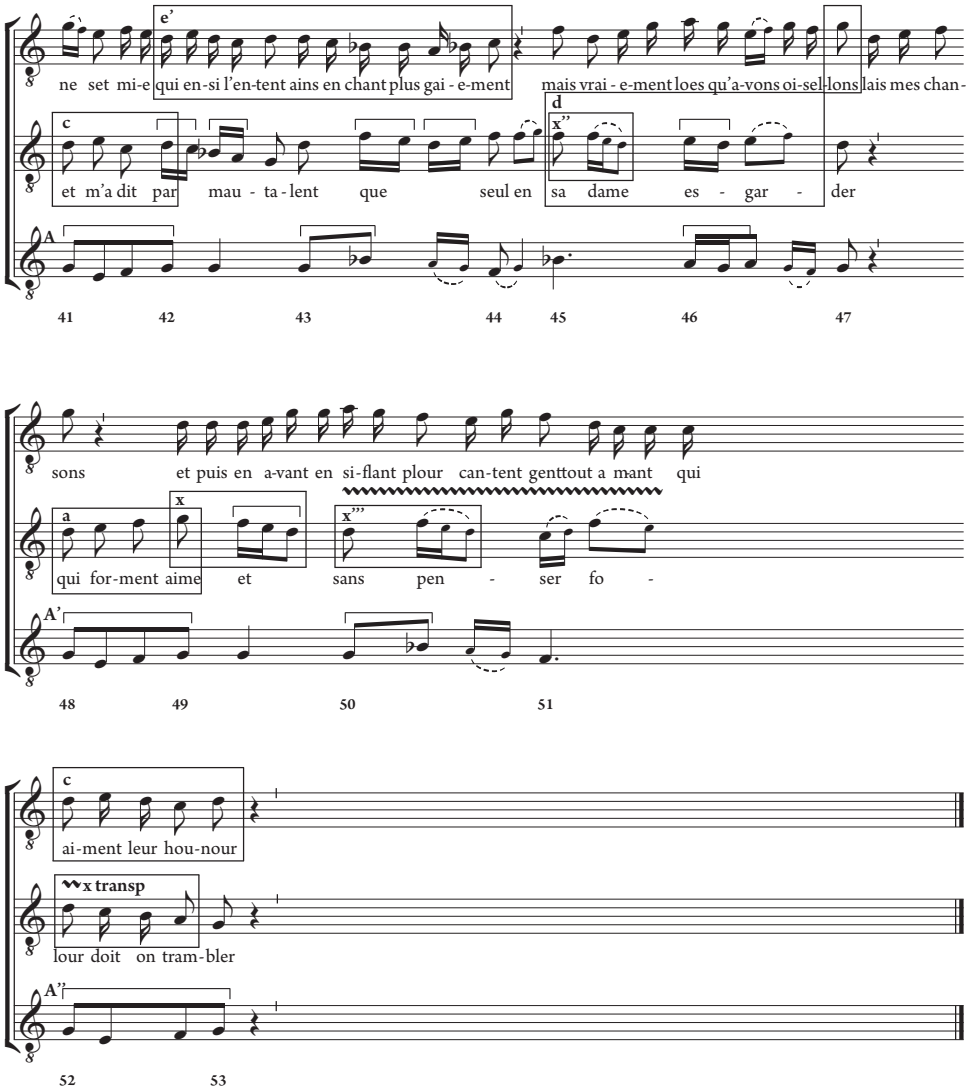
Appendix 1 Analysis of recurring elements in *Par une matinee/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART*



Appendix 2 Analysis of recurring elements in *Au tans nouvel/Chele m'a tollu/JE FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT*




ne bran-ce-te lés a lés il vo - loit jo-ïr de li et e-le de s'e-le-te le fe-
a
x
a'
x
par poi de cre - mour maint Mau-ba - tus lon - gue- ment
A
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
ri et li dist fui - és vo chant en lai-riés ce dist on com-mu-ne-ment il res-pon-di sim-ple-
c
x
a'
en son plour pour moi l'en-tent qui lon - gue - ment
A
28 29 30 31 32 33 34
b
ment com-me cre-mans et bles-ciés be - le que que
e'
et ce - li samble a poi pa - our ai
A'
35 36 37 38
c
nus en di - e la ve-ri-té
re - quis s'a-mour
A''
39 40


e'
ne set mi-e qui en-si l'en-tent ains en chant plus gai - e-ment mais vrai - e-ment loes qu'a-vons oi-sel-lons lais mes chan-
c
d
x''
et m'a dit par mau - ta - lent que seul en sa dame es - gar - der
A
41 42 43 44 45 46 47
sons et puis en a-vant en si-flant plour can-tent genttout a mant qui
a
x
x'''
qui for-ment aime et sans pen - ser fo -
A'
48 49 50 51
c
ai-ment leur hou-nour
x transp
lour doit on tram-bler
A''
52 53

# III

# ANALYTICAL CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER 13

# Montpellier 8 *PORTARE* Motets and Tonal Exploration

DOLORES PESCE

My earlier study, 'A Case for Coherent Pitch Organization in the Thirteenth-century Double Motet', offered a methodological framework for understanding the tonal structure of newly composed double Latin motets.[1] While the motets examined in that study were based on different tenor chant segments, the present study applies the same methodology to three French double motets on a single chant segment, *PORTARE*: two in fascicle 8, **Mo** 305 and 335, with the former juxtaposed to **Mo** 296 from fascicle 7. I examine the degree to which the creators of each of these motets explored the chant segment's tonal possibilities, specifically its foci on C and G, and whether they aimed for tonal coherence.

My methodology considers a number of factors that create pitch emphases in three-part motets, among which interval progressions play a leading role. Although thirteenth-century theorists writing about discant did not provide firm guidelines on how to move from any one sonority to another, they did categorize intervals in two-part writing as consonant and dissonant. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Johannes de Garlandia, in his *De mensurabili musica*, set out a hierarchy of intervals, cast within an overall division into concords and discords:[2]

| *Concords* | | | *Discords* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Perfect* | *Medial* | *Imperfect* | *Imperfect* | *Medial* | *Perfect* |
| unison | fifth | major third | major sixth | whole tone | semitone |
| octave | fourth | minor third | minor seventh | minor sixth | tritone |
| | | | | | major seventh |

Garlandia's teachings became the basis for later thirteenth-century theorists, including Franco of Cologne, Anonymous IV, and the Anonymous of St Emmeram, among others.[3] Significantly, after listing the concords and discords, Garlandia allows that an interval's status can change in specific musical contexts: any discord before a perfect or medial concord may be considered equivalent to a medial concord. Further: 'And it must be noted that a discord is never placed before an

[1] Pesce 1990.

[2] Reimer 1972, Volume 1, 72–4.

[3] Franco of Cologne largely adopted Garlandia's schema, but discarded the category of medial discord, assigning the whole tone to imperfect discord, and the minor sixth to perfect discord status.

imperfect concord except for the sake of *color* or beauty (*pulchritudo*)'.[4] Although Garlandia does not explain what he means by *color*, a later addition to his treatise makes the explicit association of *color* with the specific embellishment of repetition.[5] For our immediate purposes, these statements indicate that context can trump an established hierarchy, an acknowledgement that assumes significance when one confronts a composed work and seeks to make sense of its tonal language against the backdrop of theoretical pronouncements.[6]

Another class of instruction manuals survives from the thirteenth century, known in modern scholarship by the German term *Klangschritt-Lehre*.[7] Some of these instructions circulate alone, while others appear within texts that treat *musica mensurabilis*, including the *Discantus positio vulgaris* (c.1230s) and the Vatican organum treatise (copied in the mid thirteenth century).[8] These manuals present standard interval successions, intended as exercises for a practitioner who was expected to discant spontaneously upon a plainchant cantus. As Sarah Fuller states:

> For every ascending or descending cantus interval (beginning with unison and proceeding to the fifth, sometimes even to the octave), the discantor learns how to move in (mainly) contrary motion from one stable concord (octave, fifth, unison, occasionally fourth) to another.[9]

These exercise manuals contain only a few general rules, such as specifying contrary motion between the parts, and when half-step inflections are needed to create a perfect consonance. Otherwise, because the exercises move from one perfect consonance to another, they offer little help as we try to understand how musicians of the time moved between different classes of intervals, for example, imperfect to perfect.

While thirteenth-century theorists leave us with these limited remarks on interval succession in discant, their counterparts in the first half of the fourteenth century flesh out their implications. To start with, individual theorists vary the interval classifications somewhat, perhaps in response to changing practice. In general, they group the consonances into only perfect and imperfect categories: perfect are unison, octave, and fifth; imperfect are minor third, major third, and major sixth

[4] See Reimer 1972, 1:74. *Sciendum est, quod omnis discordantia ante perfectam concordantiam sive mediam aequipollet concordantiae mediae, et hoc proprie sumitur ante unisonum vel diapason: Ante unisonum tonu[s]. Tonus ante diapason. Et sic de singulis. … Et sciendum, quod numquam ponitur discordantia ante imperfectam concordantiam, nisi sit causa coloris sive pulchritudinis musicae*. Unattributed translations are mine.

[5] See Ernest H. Sanders and Mark Lindley, 'Color', *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 8 September 2017), which references Garlandia's *De mensurabili musica* (Reimer 1972, 1:94–7).

[6] Fuller 2002, 485–9, sets out this background of *discantus* treatment in thirteenth-century writings.

[7] See Sachs 1971.

[8] For more information on the manuals and their sources, see ibid., 234 and 266–70.

[9] Fuller 2002, 487.

(and the octave compounds in all cases). Fourths are never admitted to consonant status, but minor sixths are sometimes admitted under the category of *sexta*.[10]

Within this twofold division of consonances, fourteenth-century theorists state that certain imperfect to perfect interval successions embody a hierarchical relationship: 3–1 (a third to a unison), 3–5 (a third to a fifth), and 6–8 (a sixth to an octave). According to a text by Johannes Boen completed in 1357, a melody judged imperfect because of its accompanying thirds and sixths 'attracts and allures the ears toward the following fifth and octaves'. Thirds and sixths act as 'heralds and maidservants' to the perfect intervals, whose perfection is 'the sweeter for being long expected'.[11] That is, instability yields to stability when an interval with perceived 'tendency' moves to its expected resolution. In contrast to this fanciful language, Marchetto da Padova in his *Pomerium* (1317–19) and Jacobus, author of the *Speculum musicae* (c.1330), offer rules and preferences for handling the progression from imperfect to perfect consonance. Jacobus even introduces the term *cadentia* for certain instances of such a progression.[12]

Grounding her discussions in these fourteenth-century treatises, in tandem with empirical observation of the music, Sarah Fuller has dedicated a number of articles to understanding the role of sonority types and interval progressions in the compositional palette of fourteenth-century music.[13] She has adopted the expression 'directed progression' for an interval succession that can be perceived as moving towards a goal and having a tendency to resolution – the very ones enumerated above (3–1, 3–5, 6–8) and discussed by Marchetto, Jacobus, and others.

Despite the absence of a theoretical foundation for interval progressions in the thirteenth century, we can nevertheless deduce empirically from an examination of late thirteenth-century motets that the directed progressions Fuller considers fundamental to fourteenth-century music also played a role in the design of these earlier pieces. This analysis takes into account the following observations, equivalent to those enumerated by Fuller in her study of fourteenth-century music.

1. Directed progressions involve stepwise contrary motion from an imperfect consonance (third or sixth) to a perfect consonance (unison, fifth, or octave).
2. In 6–8 and 3–5, stepwise motion in both voices, by contrary motion outwards, presents the strongest syntax of tendency followed by resolution, though other compositional factors such as rhythm and motivic usage can affect the degree of closure. 3–1 progressions reveal contrary motion inwards, and project a lesser degree of closure than 6–8 and 3–5.
3. Directed progressions can be further distinguished according to whether the stepwise motion is by whole or half-step. Half-step motion creates a stronger tendency to resolution than does a whole step.

[10] Fuller 1986, 8: 'Fourths are tacitly excluded from two-part *contrapunctus*, but minor sixths gradually infiltrate, sometimes, as it were, by default, under the Latin term *sexta* unqualified as to major or minor.'

[11] Translation taken from Fuller 1992, 230.

[12] Fuller 1992, 229–30, discusses the Boen, Marchetto, and Jacobus passages. See also Maw 2010, 79–118.

[13] See, for example, Fuller 1986, 1987, 1992, 1998, and 2013.

4. The music also reveals interval successions in which one voice moves by step, the other by leap, such as 6–5 and 3–8; depending on context, some instances of 6–5 and 3–8 may be perceived as having some degree of tendency, but with an attenuated effect in comparison to 6–8 and 3–5.
5. Perfect-to-perfect intervals, which have no tendency and are thus neutral, also occur in this repertory.
6. In her analyses of three- and four-part music of the fourteenth-century, Fuller recognized three main sonority types, which she labelled according to theorists' nomenclature for two-part intervals: perfect and imperfect, and, by extension, doubly imperfect. I adopt the same designations for the three-voice sonorities in my sample:

   a Perfect – a combination of two perfect intervals;
   b Imperfect – a combination of one perfect and one imperfect interval;
   c Doubly imperfect – a combination of two imperfect intervals.[14]

7. Fuller also postulates a dissonant sonority type based on her examination of fourteenth-century music, particularly as it appears in the progression dissonant–doubly imperfect–perfect.[15] My discussion will bring to light such instances in the three thirteenth-century motets treated here.

My reductions indicate all phrase endings in one or both upper voices by a vertical line drawn between the staves. All upper-voice phrase endings, articulated by rhyme and usually by a longer duration and/or rest, call some attention to themselves; we experience them as a sort of breathing indicator, whether regular or irregular. In the following discussion, I consider tenor phrasing only when that voice forms a phrase ending with one of the upper voices. I judge the relative importance of a phrase ending according to whether or not it is accompanied by a directed progression, and, if so, how many voices articulate it, the duration of the phrase ending or following rest, voice-leading and registral considerations, and how it is affected by an overlapping linear motion in another voice, a fairly typical feature of late thirteenth-century repertory, in which upper-voice phrase lengths rarely agree. At the same time, I recognize that some sonorities which do not occur at phrase endings may command aural attention through the same means that apply at phrase endings. Sonorities at phrase beginnings, for example, can sound prominently, as can ones within a phrase.

My reductions are based on my own edition of the motets.[16] All *ficta* is my own. Accidentals placed on the staff reflect a notated manuscript accidental,[17] while accidentals above the staff indicate the extension of that accidental to other notes of the same pitch within a given manuscript line. I add accidentals that are not notated but required by context (to correct vertical diminished fifths and to avoid

[14] Fuller 1986, 41–2.

[15] Ibid., 42.

[16] My motet readings agree with those of Hans Tischler with respect to pitch and rhythm. See Tischler 1978, vol. 3.

[17] Notated accidentals include ones 'pre-placed' several notes before the affected pitch.

simultaneous sounding of a natural and sharp form of a pitch) in brackets above the staff. Directed progressions include sharps (in effect, leading tones) only if notated in the manuscript. My approach to *ficta* within directed progressions largely follows the rationale articulated by Fuller with respect to fourteenth-century music. She informs us that fourteenth-century theorists uniformly hold that a movement from an imperfect to a perfect consonance requires a voice to proceed to the closest note by contrary, stepwise motion. But not all require that one should inflect an imperfect consonance in the *shortest* path to a subsequent perfect consonance, that is, by a semitone.[18] Fuller accordingly does not uniformly inflect every imperfect consonance moving to a perfect consonance.[19]

Likewise, I apply *ficta* judiciously to these thirteenth-century motets. My primary aim is to identify the degree to which the motet creators emphasize the inherent tonal duality of their chant source through their choice of interval progressions. Following Fuller, I recognize that, when a work moves from one tonal focus to another, *ficta* choices can either bring the tonal reorientation 'into the foreground of experience or can convey a more noncommittal, even oblivious, stance toward it'.[20] But the presence of *ficta* cannot change the underlying voice-leading that results from choosing one type of penultimate sonority over another; for example, a final sonority preceded by a sonority with double tendency (6–8 *and* 3–5) has a stronger effect than one preceded by only a single tendency progression. This fundamental voice-leading is the focus of my analyses, which nevertheless acknowledge that a limited application of *ficta* produces but one reading among many possible, differently nuanced ones.

The tenors of these thirteenth-century motets offer multiple iterations of a chant fragment, referred to here as tenor statement one, two, and three. The motet creators sometimes change the rhythmic pattern superimposed on the chant after statement one. Given the resemblance to isorhythmic treatment of tenors in fourteenth-century motets, the terms *color* (for the repeated chant fragment) and *talea* (for the rhythmic pattern) have been adopted here. This meaning of *color* relates, of course, to its earliest usage in association with embellished repetition.

## MO 7,296

As shown in Example 13.1, the *PORTARE/SUSTINERE* chant segment has two tonal foci, C and G: *c* opens the segment, *G* ends it; *c* appears a total of five times, *G* a total of four.[21] Whereas most motet settings of *PORTARE* play primarily upon these two tonal foci, an unexpected emphasis on F appears in **Mo**

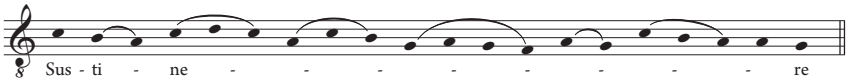
[18] Fuller 1998, 75. For a similar view, see Bain 2003.

[19] In contrast, a number of scholars, including Margaret Bent, Lucy Cross, and Elizabeth Eva Leach, advocate uniform application of *ficta* to all such progressions. See Bent 1998; Cross 1990; and Leach 2000.

[20] Fuller 1998, 76.

[21] Example 13.1 shows the chant segment with the word *SUSTINERE* instead of *PORTARE*, a substitution whose possible significance is explained in Pesce 1997, 38–40.

Ex. 13.1 *Sustinere* from *Alleluia Dulce lignum* (BnF lat. 1112, fol. 169v).




8,305. Because this emphasis on F occurs even more prominently in **Mo** 7,296, this fascicle 7 motet provides a point of comparison prior to examining **Mo** 8,305.

Example 13.2 presents the sonorities of **Mo** 7,296 in a skeletal form, with only the tenor rhythmicized.[22] Each system of the reduction contains one statement of the tenor. Most striking about the harmonic unfolding of this motet is that it ends, in a truncated fashion, after two and a half tenor statements, on the pitch *F* instead of the expected *G*, though *F* occurs in the chant segment only once. Because the *talea* imposed on the *color* is different in each of the three tenor statements, some of the phrase endings occur on the same notes each time while others do not. I have highlighted with solid brackets the motet's 6–8 and 3–5 progressions that occur at phrase endings: statement one, on *c* in bar 2, *b* in bar 3, *F* in bar 4, *G* in bar 6; statement two, on *c* in bar 8, *F* in bar 10, *G* in bars 11 and 12; statement three, on *F* in bar 15. All three tenor statements open with a C sonority, with *g* in the upper voice. In fact, a G upper-voice prominence pertains to the motet as a whole: in comparison to other motets on *PORTARE*, **Mo** 7,296 shows very little registral variation. In view of its fairly static registral impression, the motet relies on devices other than register to create its tonal structure and prepare our ears for the ending on F.

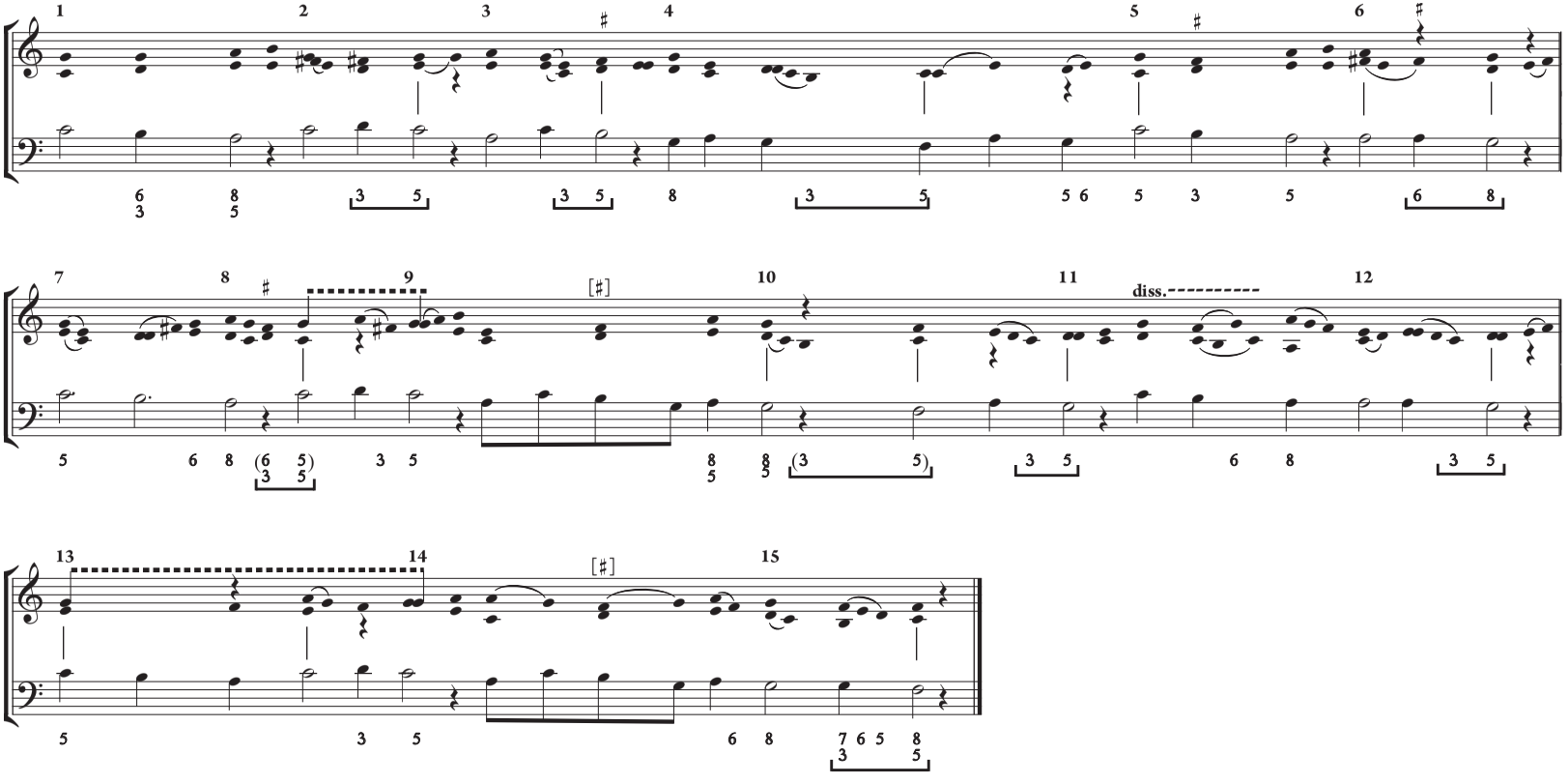
In tenor statement one, *c*, one of the chant's two primary tones, is supported repeatedly by a *c/g* sonority, which serves as the tonal pillar until bar 6: *c/g* opens the motet, is approached by a 3–5 progression in bar 2 at a phrase ending, and sounds like a point of arrival (or return) at bar 5, though approached by a thinly disguised 5–5 interval succession. Its stable effect in bar 5 is related to its prior prominent role in exactly this register, augmented by the triplum's semibreve motion leading to it.[23]

The other primary chant tone, *G*, is approached by a directed progression only once, in bar 6, at the end of the tenor fragment: a 6–8 progression, with a notated *f-sharp*, creates the strongest possible tendency to a G sonority. Despite only one directed progression to *G*, the motet creator prepares our ears for that *G* arrival through earlier soundings of the melodic motion *f-sharp* to *g*. In bar 2 it occurs within the *d/f-sharp* to *c/g* progression. In bar 3 a *b/f-sharp* sonority is approached by 3–5 between triplum and tenor, but does not itself carry a strong sense of arrival, despite its longer duration: that the prior inflected *f* moved to *g* creates an expectation that such a leading motion will occur here as well. And this very expectation enhances the aural effect of the following *G/d/g* sonority at the opening of bar 4.

[22] Each bar encompasses a double long.

[23] *A propos* this statement about the C sonority, the *a/e/aa* sonority in statement one deserves mention. It is preceded by 6–8 and 3–5 several times, but always within a phrase. Nevertheless, it assumes some prominence in bars 1, 3, and 5 through its longer duration and identical voicing, just as the *c/g* sonority draws attention through its longer duration and identical voicing.

Ex. 13.2 **Mo** 7,296 reduction.



Though prepared by stepwise motion in only one voice, this open sonority strikes our ears as a potential arrival, as *f-sharp*'s tendency to *g* is reinforced when we hear G in two octaves, *G/g*, for the first time. This *f-sharp* to *g* motion in bars 2–4 thus presages what finally occurs in bar 6, when stepwise motion in both voices firmly asserts a true arrival on *G/g*.

In comparison to the importance of G and C in this first tenor statement, the *F* in bar 4, though prepared by a directed progression, is weakened by the short duration of the *F/c* sonority, as well as by the parallel fifths between tenor and motetus.

In statement two, as in statement one, a *c/g* sonority dominates the aural palette at the outset. The sonority opens the statement in bar 7, then sounds in bar 8 at a phrase ending in both upper voices prefaced by the directed progression 3–5. Simultaneously the tenor and triplum create a lesser-tendency 6–5 progression (*a/f-sharp* to *c/g*); because the tenor contains a rest between its two participating pitches, I refer to this as an implied progression and show the interval progression within parentheses (6–5). As in statement one, the *f-sharp* to *g* melodic motion creates an expectation of arrival on G, but here the expectation is compounded by the potential for 6–8 motion to G in the outer voices (*a/f-sharp* to *G/g*). But C continues its dominance as the C sonority is prolonged by an internal phrase progression on 3–5 in bars 8–9 (see dashed beam).

What follows enhances F for the first time. In bar 10, emanating from a G sonority that is itself not prepared by tendency intervals, a motetus gesture (*d c b*) leads to *c*, joined by *F/f* below and above. This voice-leading, combined with the implied 3–5 motion (*G/b* to *F/c*), with half-step motion in one voice, whole-step in the other, emphasizes an *F/c/f* sonority of long duration.[24] The F sonority is in turn followed by a 3–5 progression to G, which is relatively weaker because both voices move by whole step, and *d* rather than *g* is the highest-sounding pitch in the G sonority.[25] The same 3–5 tendency progression introduces G at the end of the second tenor statement in bar 12, again with *d* rather than *g* as the highest-sounding pitch. Both instances illustrate how voicing and presence of whole versus half-steps in directed progressions can mitigate the tonal stability of a longer-duration sonority. In bar 12, the *G/d* sonority's stability is further challenged when the triplum continues its motion upward from *d* to *g*, overlapping the phrase ending in the motetus and tenor. This leading-voice motion lends emphasis to the C sonority that sounds at the outset of bar 13. The same linear motion occurred at the end of statement one in bar 6, but there the G sonority, with *g* as the highest-sounding pitch, was, in relative terms, a full point of arrival, even as the triplum started a new phrase on that sonority. Thus, the stability of the *G/d* sonority in bars 11–12 is weakened somewhat by

[24] The same 3–5 progression to *F* occurs in bar 4 of statement one, but the F sonority in that case is of short duration.

[25] This G sonority is one of three sonorities that I identify as phrase endings because they present a key rhyme on a long-duration note, though they are not followed by a rest in either upper voice, as generally occurs for rhymes in this motet: a B sonority in bar 3, triplum rhyme *-ment*; C in bar 5, triplum rhyme *-ment*; and G in bar 11, triplum rhyme *-ir*. I do not identify as phrase endings the rhymes on *b* in bar 7 (triplum *-ter*) and on *a* in bar 14 (triplum *-er*), which are not followed by a rest and are of short duration.

its voicing, whole- versus half-step preparation, and overlapping linear motion at a phrase ending, while F surfaces prominently in bar 10.

Tenor statement three presents a compressed tenor rhythm for its first three notes in relationship to statement two. As already mentioned, a phrase ending on *c* at the outset of bar 13 is emphasized through the triplum's leading voice motion to it, but not through a directed progression. Two directed progressions occur within tenor statement three, both within a phrase rather than at a phrase ending: at bar 14 on *c*, and at bars 14–15 on *g*. The duration of the C sonority is relatively long, which gives it aural prominence despite its occurrence within a phrase. In fact, one might perceive bars 13–14 as a prolongation of a *c/g* sonority (see dotted beam). The progression to the G sonority in bars 14–15 is a variation of what occurred in statement two, not surprising given that the tenor has now resumed the rhythm of statement two. The doubly parallel interval preparation of G (8/5–8/5) in statement two at bars 9–10 is barely disguised in statement three by the ornamental triplum note *f* (creating a brief 6–8 movement). The G sonority's stability is furthered loosened in bar 15 through a momentary dissonant seventh over *G*, as the triplum moves through *f e d*. Depending on whether one hears the triplum *e* or *d* as the primary tone, this closing progression to F involves either a doubly directed progression 6/3–8/5, both with half-step motion, or a directed progression 5/3–8/5, with only one half-step motion. In the case of *e* as the primary tone, the dissonant seventh *G/f* moving to the imperfect *G/e* may be an instance of Garlandia's statement: 'a discord is never placed before an imperfect concord except for the sake of *color* or beauty (*pulchritudo*)'. If we interpret *color* as embellished repetition, this dissonance constitutes an embellishment of what occurred in statement two, bar 10, in the movement from tenor *G* to *F*.

The foregoing analysis suggests that the motet creator intended C as one tonal pillar throughout the work, with G initially a second pillar. In statements 2 and 3, the G sonority becomes less stable because of its voicing and interval preparation, while F comes into focus when a new tenor rhythm assigns it a longer duration, and directed progressions lead to it. It is germane to the issue of lessening emphasis on G that no notated F-sharps appear in the manuscript after bar 8. Based on the line breaks in the manuscript and the pre-placement of F-sharps, one cannot be sure whether the *f-sharp* in bar 8 should be extended to bar 9: the fact that the *f* forms a diminished fifth with the tenor *b* argues in favour of sharpening, but the short duration of the dissonance, which moves to another dissonance, renders the solution less clear. A situation parallel to that of bar 9 occurs in bar 14 of statement three, with slightly varied voice-leading, but again the diminished fifth is of short duration. We recall that B was treated as a long-duration sonority in statement one, bar 3, where its accompanying F-sharp participates in the melodic tendency motion to G. Perhaps the motet creator chose a different tenor rhythm in statements 2 and 3 at least in part to lessen the B presence and hence a sense of G as a linear arrival point from F-sharp. Significantly enough, the manuscript evidence suggests an understanding of this nuanced tonal structure by a scribe, who declined to apply F-sharps once the F tonal focus arises.

But even if one were to apply F-sharps in bars 9 and 14, one would still conclude that G is increasingly treated as a less stable unit. F, though underplayed in statement one, achieves momentary stability in statement two, and is then reinforced in the final cadence. While register plays little role in the tonal design of this motet, directed progressions figure prominently, with the weight of each subtly affected by the voicing of its sonorities, use of whole-step versus half-step motion (particularly in bars 10–12), and linear motion in one voice that overlaps a phrase ending in another.

## MO 8,305

MO 8,305 also involves some manipulation of the F sonority, though here it plays a part in creating internal tonal variety rather than serving as the final sonority of the motet (see Example 13.3). The motet contains three tenor statements, of which the first two share the same *talea* and overall profile of phrase endings and directed progressions. Statement three, however, shortens the *talea* from three to two perfections in length, with a concomitant change in the position of phrase endings, up until the midpoint of bar 11, where the rhythm of statements one and two is re-established. Vertical lines between staves indicate phrase endings; those phrase endings prepared by directed progression are marked with solid brackets.

G receives primary attention in this motet. A quick glance at the phrase endings reveals G's importance, particularly at the three points marked by a full stop in all three voices: statement one, in bars 3 and 4; statement two, in bar 7. In addition to being accompanied by a complete textural break, all three G sonorities are preceded by doubly imperfect sonorities, and thus assume even more importance as points of arrival. Likewise, doubly imperfect sonorities precede the final G of statements two and three. G's tonal prominence is rendered unquestionable through these devices, even in the absence of notated F-sharps in most of these locations.

One other G sonority in statements one (bar 2) and two (bar 6) deserves mention. While the first occurs within a phrase, the second appears at a phrase ending involving the motetus and tenor. Both present a 5–8, perfect-to-perfect interval succession, rather than a directed progression, yet a tendency to the G sonority results nevertheless because of the half-step motion from *f-sharp* to *g* in bar 2 (notated) and in bar 6 (not notated but required to create a perfect fifth above the tenor *b*); both instances also include a dissonant *c* over the tenor *b*, seeking resolution to *d*, a stable member of the G sonority.

Whereas G dominates the tonal soundscape of a majority of the motet, the C of the chant fragment comes into focus as an opening sonority for the first two tenor statements, enhanced within their first tenor phrases. In bar 1, a 3–5 progression to a B sonority at a phrase ending on tenor *d* is mitigated as a point of arrival when it in turn sets up a 3–5 progression to a C sonority in bar 2.[26] That sonority's high *cc* falls

[26] In bar 1 the phrase ending on *c/g* between the triplum and tenor is not emphasized by a preceding tendency interval. Its rhyme ('*-our*') returns in bars 4 and 6 of the triplum and in bars 11 and 13 of the motetus, the last on the same word, *amour*, that occurred in bar 1. Because of this rhyme recollection, one can speculate that repeated

at a phrase beginning in the motetus, calling attention to itself through that positioning and through its recall of the voicing heard in the opening sonority of the motet. A D sonority replaces B at the same place in statement two (bar 5), where again a 3–5 progression leads to a C sonority. In both instances, C's prominent role contends with the presence of *f-sharp* to *g* melodic motion, presaging the actual arrival on a G sonority in bars 2 and 6, as described above.[27]

What role does the tenor's *F* play in this motet? In statement one, bar 3, it assumes a low profile. It is preceded by 6–8 within a phrase consisting of lightly disguised doubly parallel intervals, immediately after which it becomes part of the doubly imperfect 6/3–8/5 progression to *G*. Because of the registral stability of the highest-sounding voice around G (see dashed beam), and the brief duration of the F sonority, G remains the focus – it is, in effect, prolonged. In statement two, bar 7, however, the motet creator gives more attention to F through several means, including a doubly inflected progression, though again not at a phrase ending. The directed progression to F stands out because its highest voice falls on *cc*, the highest pitch of the motet, which until now has always sounded over a tenor *c*. The *cc* is reached by linear motion from the triplum *aa* at the start of bar 7, which moves through a dissonant moment over tenor *G*, to *bb*, which, combined with the motetus *e*, creates a 6/3–8/5 progression to *F/f/cc*. Significantly, while the triplum ascends from *aa* to *cc*, the tenor moves in contrary motion from *a* to *F*. Thus, in this short span, the tones F A C are emphasized through registral positioning, directed progression, and their combined duration.

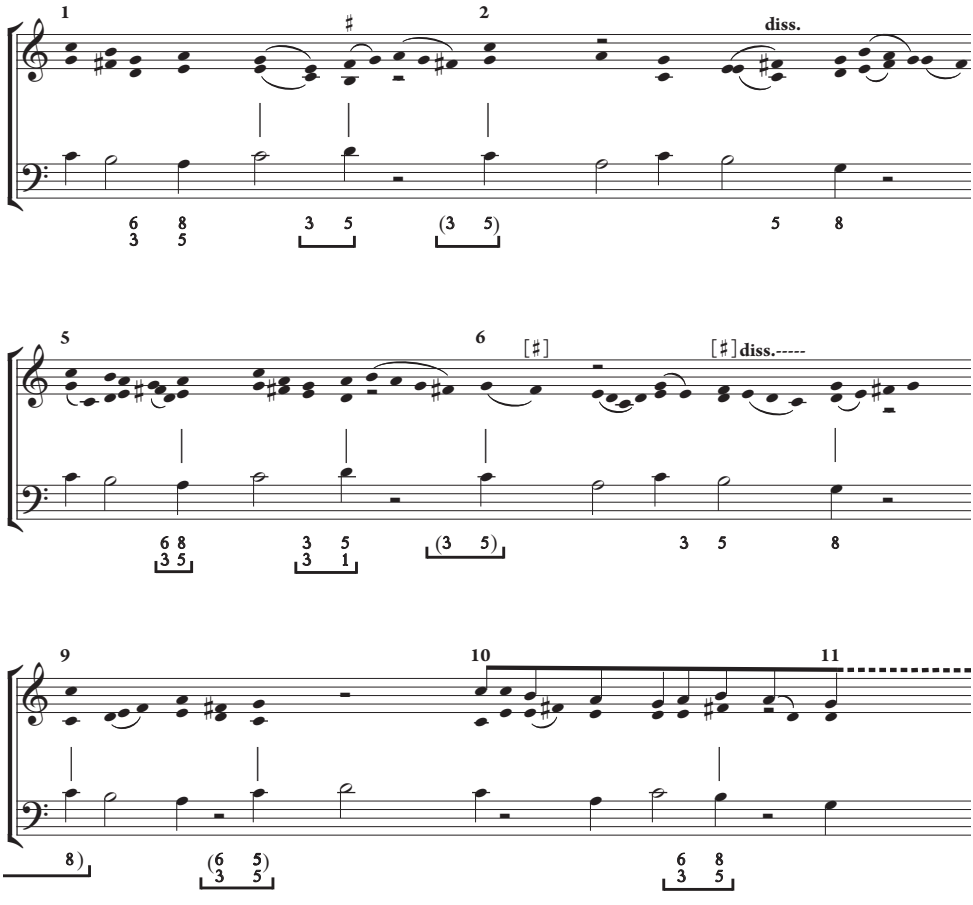
Immediately following this momentary F emphasis, a linear motion from *cc* down to *g* unfolds from the vertical F sonority, with the final G sonority approached by a double tendency progression (see beamed notes). After a rest, bar 8 presents high *cc*, now over tenor *c*, as a point of initiation moving down to *g* a second time, firmly established again by the same double tendency progression.

As already mentioned, tenor statement three unfolds with a different rhythm: a shortened *talea*, marked by a rest after every three pitches. As a result, there are no complete textural breaks in all three voices such as occurred in bars 3, 4, and 7, thus lessening the impact of phrase endings relative to what has preceded. Nonetheless,

performances might lead the ear to hear this early C sonority as more prominent than its interval context suggests.

[27] The A sonority in bars 1, 3, 5, and 8 receives some aural prominence. In bar 1 it is approached by doubly imperfect intervals, but not at a phrase ending, and both upper voices move forward immediately in semibreve articulations. At the beginning of bar 3 it occurs at a phrase ending between tenor and motetus; though it is not prepared by a directed progression, the immediately preceding dissonant second (*f/g*) offers some tendency towards the A sonority. In bar 5, it is again approached by doubly imperfect intervals, this time at a phrase ending between tenor and triplum. This is the most prominent of these instances. In bar 8, an A sonority is approached by an imperfect interval, but not at a phrase ending and with a semibreve articulation in the triplum, creating a sense of moving forward rather than a point of rest. While the immediately following tenor *a* could be classified as a phrase ending because of the triplum rhyme (*-giés*), it too has a sense of forward motion because of the tendency tones in the triplum and motetus. Some other rhymes occur as transitory eighth notes with no tendency preparation and are therefore not indicated as phrase endings in Example 13.3 (triplum, bars 2, 4, 7).

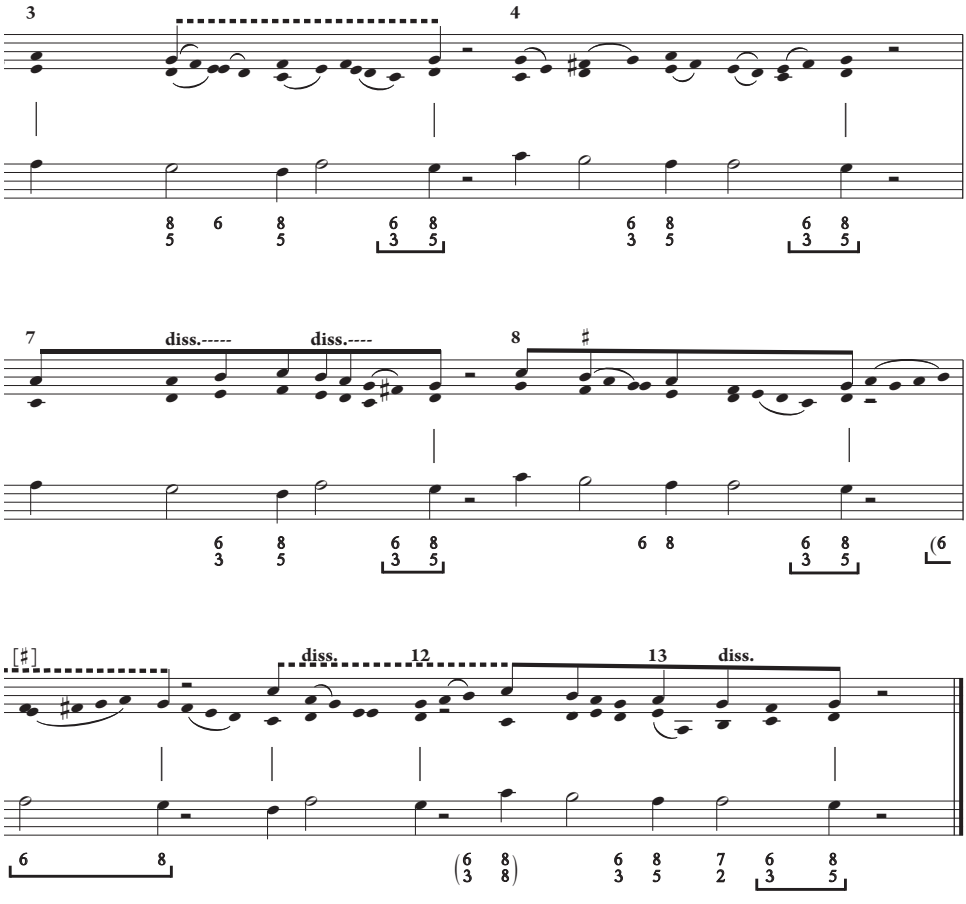
Ex. 13.3 **Mo** 8,305 reduction.




directed progressions play a role in creating a subtle tonal design, as do registral positioning and repeated linear unfoldings.

C assumes more prominence in tenor statement three than in the previous two. Because of the rest that alters the *talea*, tenor *c* falls on the first beat of three perfections at the beginning of the statement. This metrical emphasis on C is enhanced by other features: 1) after a decisive G phrase ending in bar 8, a melodic gesture that overlaps the end of bar 8 and the beginning of bar 9 in the triplum creates a sense of arrival on the opening C sonority of statement three, with implicit 6–8 motion; 2) the second C sonority in bar 9 is highlighted through a 3–5 progression; 3) at the start of bar 10, *cc* returns as the highest tone of the same bare *c/cc* sonority that opens this statement.

G's first emphasis at a phrase ending in this tenor statement is slightly delayed in comparison to statement two, occurring over the second rather than the first G (compare bars 6 and 11). Nonetheless, G begins to assume importance before that




second *G* pitch (which is prepared by 6–8), in part because the *f-sharp* over the *b* in bar 10 has an implicit melodic tendency to *g*, functioning the same way as it did in statements 1 and 2.[28] As indicated by the dotted beam in Example 13.3, one can hear the first two perfections of bar 11 as a prolongation of a G sonority that falls at the end of a melodic descent from *cc* to *g*.

The last perfection of bar 11 shows the tenor reverting to its earlier rhythmic profile from statements one and two. Yet the treatment of sonorities differs, as a comparison of bars 7 and 11 indicates. Whereas the F sonority within statement two occurred within a phrase, it now appears at a phrase ending between the motetus and tenor and a phrase beginning between the triplum and tenor. Though it is not prepared by a directed progression as it was in the first two tenor statements, it

[28] Already in bar 9 the triplum unfolds the *f-sharp* to *g* motion as part of the 6/3–5/5 progression to C.

commands attention nevertheless because the triplum again sounds *cc*, the highest pitch of the motet, as it did in the equivalent position within bar 7, but now at an exposed phrase beginning. Two expectations for immediate linear descent intertwine here. Following the model of bars 7–8, we expect a linear descent from the *cc* of the F sonority to a clearly established G ending. At the same time, the textural break preceding the F sonority in bar 11 aligns it more with the unprepared C sonority in bars 8 and 10[29] than with the linearly approached F sonority in bar 7. The stark Cs that open bars 8 and 10 initiate their own linear descents, which leads us to expect the same of this similarly stark opening *F* sonority. Instead, the motet creator plays with our expectations by delaying the descent until the sounding of the *c/cc* octave in bar 12 (see dotted beam in bars 11–12).[30] It is as though the high *cc* of the F sonority in bar 11 needed grounding in the C sonority of bar 12, before a true linear descent of *cc* to *g* could begin.

Following the increased attention to C, G again emerges as the final goal, prepared by a double tendency 6/3–8/5 progression. The slight tweaking of its preceding sonorities brings even more strength to the G arrival: whereas the tenor pitch *b* in statement two carried a B sonority, it now carries tones of the G sonority, and the 6/3 double-tendency tones over the penultimate *a* are now preceded by the dissonant 7/2, creating additional tendency in a context of embellished repetition – Garlandia's *color*.

In summary, **Mo** 8,305 reveals a careful tonal plan that gives primary emphasis to the tenor tone G. C receives its customary prominence at the beginning of all three tenor statements and becomes more important within statement three through its metrically emphasized positioning, directed progressions (not necessarily at phrase endings), and high-placed registral focus. But even as the motet creator thus created some tonal variety, the ending on G is particularly grounded in the expectation for a linear unfolding from *cc* to *g* that dominates statements two and three, lending this motet an extremely cohesive design. The F sonority subtly mediates the C and G emphases, attracting attention in its own right.

## MO 8,335

Each of **Mo** 8,335's three tenor statements maintains a *talea* of four units (three dotted half notes and one dotted half rest). But, as shown in Example 13.4, the start of each repetition of the twenty-note chant segment (*color*) falls at a different point in the *talea*: the first statement begins on the first element, the second statement on the third element, the third statement on the second element. As a result, the beginning and ending pitches of each *talea* differ among the three *color*

[29] The textural break before the C sonority that begins bar 10 is minimally affected when the tenor *c* moves to neighbour tone *d* during the rest. More importantly, the sense of break is intensified because both upper voices have ended on the same rhyme (*-er*) for the first time in the motet.

[30] The delay in the descent from high *cc* is attributable to a bit of meandering: a momentary dissonance sounds over tenor *a*, after which an *a/e* sonority moves neutrally to a G sonority at the start of bar 12. That G sonority then supports linear motion from *g* back up to the crucial high *cc* in tandem with a 6–8 directed progression to a C sonority.

statements. This feature, in combination with the fact that the two upper voices have irregular phrase lengths and rarely end together, causes phrase endings to occur over different pitches in each of the three tenor statements. As in the other two motets, I have marked all phrase endings with a vertical line between the two staves. Because this motet does not primarily position its directed progressions at phrase endings, I have chosen to highlight all tendency progressions in order to understand their role in the motet's tonal unfolding, but distinguish first-level tendency progressions (6–8, 3–5, and 3–1) at phrase endings in solid brackets, first-level tendency progressions within phrases in dashed brackets, and lesser tendency progressions (6–5 and 3–8) in dotted brackets.

The motet opening emphasizes C, with some attention to A, before proceeding to G in bars 7–8. C's importance as a pitch focus is established in this case more by phrase beginnings than by phrase endings. A C sonority sounds at the start of bar 1; at the start of bar 3, where the triplum begins a phrase and the motetus ends one; and at the start of bar 4, where the motetus begins a phrase, preceded by a 3–5 progression. The pitch A also plays a role in these opening perfections. Although the *PORTARE* chant segment does not place it in a prominent beginning or ending position (as it does C and G), A's multiple appearances make it subject to potential tonal emphasis.[31] In the case of **Mo** 8,335, the motet creator allows A to emerge somewhat in bar 2 within a phrase, through a long-duration sonority preceded by a double tendency progression; and prolongs it in bar 5 (see dotted beam for the prolongation, which includes an oscillation to C at a phrase ending). The A sonority in bar 5 in turn takes part in a double tendency progression to a long-duration *b/f-sharp/bb* sonority in bar 6 at a phrase ending. That sonority's *f-sharp* completes its melodic tendency to *g* (a gesture already heard in bars 1 and 3–4), but, for the first time, the gesture leads not to a C sonority but rather to a G sonority in bar 7. This motion is accompanied by a 5–8 progression that gains forward motion through its accompanying resolution-seeking dissonance (*e* to *d*).

The next few perfections reveal a carefully calculated voice-leading that directs motion to the C sonority at bar 11. Starting with the G sonority in bar 8, prolonged from bar 7 (see dotted beam), each sonority approached by a directed progression (most typically 6–8) then becomes the launching point for another directed progression to the next sonority, aided by stepwise linear motion in the upper voice(s). This is true even for the G sonority in bar 10 which is approached at a phrase ending by a double tendency progression: the G sonority in turn prepares the arrival on a C sonority at a phrase ending in bar 11 through ascending stepwise motion in both the triplum and the motetus (tracing *d e f g aa bb cc*), resulting in yet another 6–8 progression (and implied 3–8 motion between tenor and triplum). The *cc* at bar 11 re-emerges as the highest tone, unheard since the beginning of the piece. Then a barely disguised parallel motion takes hold, sinking from *cc* down to *g* in bar 13. Although the G sonority at bar 13 is approached by a double tendency progression, just as it was at bar 10, its effect as a point of arrival is weakened by the fact that it does not fall at a phrase ending, and, just as in bar 10, it prepares another arrival on a C sonority in bar 14 at the beginning of statement two, through the ascending

[31] See n. 23 and n. 27 above for discussion of A's role in **Mo** 7,296 and **Mo** 8,305.

Ex. 13.4 **Mo** 8,335 reduction.

triplum voice-leading of *g* to *cc*. Thus, statement one begins with a C emphasis, with secondary attention to A, emphasizes G at bars 7–8, but then uses a G sonority twice to prepare a C arrival.

In many ways, statement two follows the harmonic profile of statement one, yet presents its own individual unfolding. Example 13.4 shows beamed notes that represent linear motion back and forth between *cc* and *g*, several times over, as opposed to the single motion of *g* to *cc* to *g* in statement one, bars 7–13. Whereas high *cc* sounds only in bars 1 and 11 of statement one, it opens statement two, then is returned to in bars 17 (via a directed progression) and 19 (where one phrase ends, another begins). This registral emphasis, combined with linear motion to each sounding of *cc*, makes C a tonal focus in the first half of statement two.[32]

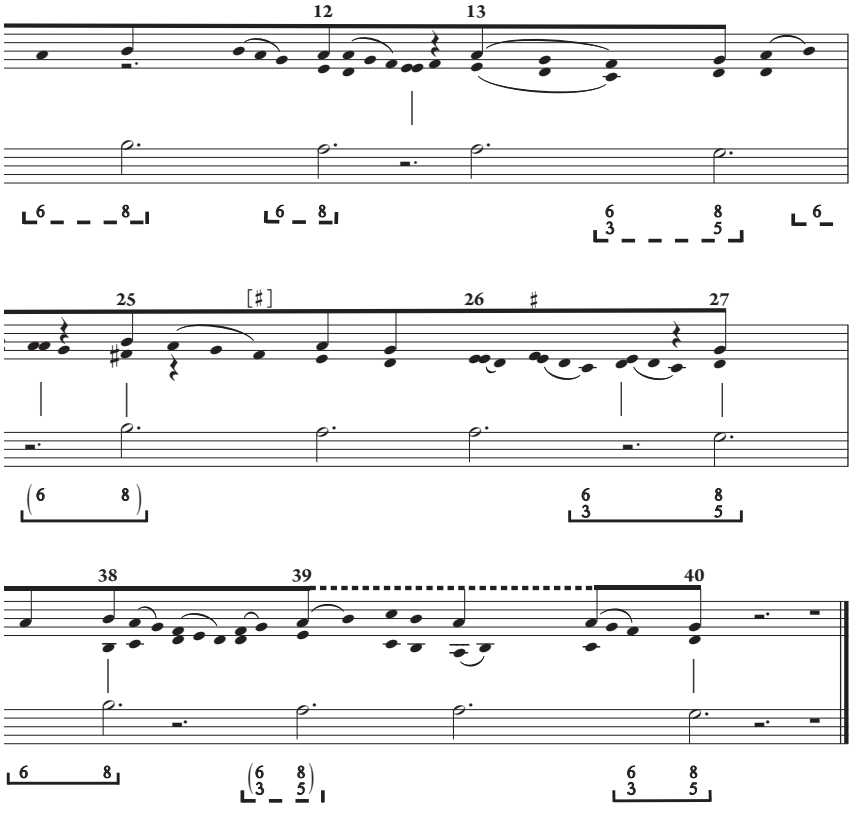
[32] What occurs melodically from the last beat of bar 17 to the downbeat of bar 19 is open to interpretation. One can argue for a linear unfolding *g–aa–bb–cc* or for a prolongation of the tone *a*. The *bb* sounds briefly, creating dissonance and forward motion to *d/aa* at a phrase ending, thus giving added attention to *aa*. Nonetheless,

A prolongation of G occurs at bars 20–1, similar to bars 7–8. Bars 21 to 27 present a variation of the progressions heard in statement one over the same tenor notes. A G sonority prepares a C sonority at bar 24 through a 3–8 progression and linear motion from *g* up to *cc* in the triplum. In comparison to the C sonority of bar 11, prepared by a 6–8 progression, this arrival on C carries a lesser tendency progression, and does not occur at a phrase ending. Nonetheless, returning at a phrase beginning to the high *cc*, familiar to us from its frequent prior appearance within statement two, creates a sense of returning to a tonal anchor. Statement two again ends with a double tendency progression to G, but this time G achieves more stability, occurring as it does at a phrase ending in the motetus (and without succeeding linear motion, as in bar 13). Thus, statement two concentrates on C through a larger portion of its unfolding than occurred in statement one, then ends with a G emphasis.

my ear retains the *bb*, with expectation of *cc*, following from what occurred immediately before in bars 16–17.

Ex. 13.4 *continued*

The third tenor statement again projects an individual unfolding in which the anchoring role of C in statement two is somewhat diminished. To begin with, the G emphasis at the end of statement two carries over into the *color* that starts in bar 27 on C, in the middle of a tenor *talea* that demarcates the tones *G c b*. The tenor *G* supports a phrase ending in the motetus and a phrase beginning in the triplum, the latter on the tone *g*. Significantly, the C sonority over the tenor *c* retains *g* in the triplum, rather than inserting *cc* as its highest voice, thus downplaying C in relation to G. The *g* moves stepwise to high *cc* in bar 28, but *cc*'s short duration precludes it sounding like a point of arrival. As the statement continues, C receives no preparation by 6–8 or 3–5, but instead carries the lesser tendency progression 6–5 in bars 29 and 32, and only the second of these at a phrase ending; in both cases, the highest-sounding voice remains *g*, preceded by melodic motion *f-sharp* to *g*. Only the phrase beginning at bar 31 presents a high *cc*, which quickly returns to the registral focus around G that dominates this statement from bar 27 into bar 35. Yet, even while hearing a G registral emphasis, one can argue that the first half of this statement possesses less tonal clarity than the previous two. As in statement two, its phrase endings are widely distributed in pitch, and some lack directed progressions. But whereas statement two has constant linear motion leading to *cc* and




a relatively strong directed progression to a C sonority in bar 17, statement three lacks a clear sense of reaching a tonal goal until the arrival on a G sonority in bar 33, preceded by *f-sharp* to *g* leading motion, though not at a phrase ending.[33]

From bar 35, the harmonic unfolding shows some resemblance to that of statements one and two: G is preceded by doubly imperfect intervals at a phrase ending, and itself supports a 6–8 progression to F at a phrase ending, but then the chain of 6–8 motions leading to a high *cc* over a tenor *c* is broken. Instead, the F sonority in bar 35 reintroduces a triplum *cc* whose exposed registral placement draws attention to it, as does its occurrence at a phrase ending in one voice and a phrase beginning in another. The *cc* moves to an even higher *dd* in bar 37 over a phrase ending on *G* – the apex of the statement. From *dd*, a descending line moves down to *g*, back up to

[33] Aside from the lesser tendency progressions to C already mentioned, a directed progression to B occurs at bar 28 within a phrase and another at a phrase ending in bar 33. Bars 28–9 contain an implied directed progression to A. Non-tendency phrase endings occur on D and E in bars 28 and 30 respectively, and D also receives attention in bar 30, though its preceding tendency intervals are weakened by the total aural effect of parallel movement.

*b*, then down to *g* again. Perhaps our ears hear this hedging descent in relationship to the descent from a C sonority in statements one and two.[34] The statement ends with a doubly imperfect progression to G.

Does this motet have tonal coherence in relationship to its chant foci of C and G? C has fundamental importance throughout statement one, with G emerging independently only in bars 7–8, before it serves as a preparatory sonority for C in bars 10–11 and 13–14. Statement two increases attention to *cc* as a linearly approached highest pitch, but ends with a stronger sense of G arrival. In turn, that G arrival prepares registral emphasis on G in the first half of statement three, and G is then reinforced through the extended linear unfolding from *dd* to *g* in bars 37–40. As already mentioned, that *dd* to *g* linear descent can plausibly be heard in relationship to the *cc* to *g* descent of statements one and two. Even without that linked hearing, **Mo** 8,335 offers a tightly woven design that varies the relative importance of the tones C and G throughout its unfolding. Only at the beginning of statement three does the sense of cohesion diminish; otherwise, registral emphasis supported by linear unfolding, as well as directed progressions, keep the ear focused on C and G and help prepare it for the final prominence of G over C.

Not incidentally, the accidentals supplied in the copy of this motet in **Mo** provide tantalizing evidence for a thirteenth-century approach to tonal emphasis. B/F sonorities are always accompanied by a notated F-sharp to correct an otherwise vertical diminished fifth. Two of the three tenor statements lack notated sharps at their final G endings prepared by 6/3–8/5 progressions, as do the earlier 6–8 and 6/3–8/5 progressions to G in bars 7–8, 21, and 34–5. Presumably some singers may have applied sharps to some of these instances by convention, though not in those cases where the melodic shape of one of the participating voices requires F-natural.[35] The scribe notates F-sharps in one other situation: before the *c/g* sonority in the first half of statements one and three (bars 3–4, 29, and 31–2). On the other hand, in statement two, whose first half concentrates on C, only one sharp appears, in a *b/f/bb* sonority at bar 15, and the pitch F is notably absent from any other sonority all the way to bar 25.[36] Do we interpret the F-sharps prior to C sonorities in statements one and three as priming our ears for the G emphasis to come, and the absence of Fs in the first half of statement two as a deliberate attempt to keep our focus on C? Certainly this is a possibility.

[34] The 6–8 directed progressions to tones *b* and *a* in bars 37–9 resemble those in bars 11–12.

[35] The instance at bars 34–5 is complicated by what occurs in bar 33. It begins with a *b/f* sonority, with the *f* sharpened. The final sonority of that measure sounds dissonant *f* and *c* against the tenor *G*, and the scribe of **Mo** inserts a flat to indicate that the *f* should not be sharpened. Perhaps the scribe did not want an augmented fourth between *c* and *f-sharp*, but, more importantly, the motetus line *g–f–e–f–e–d–c–d–e–f* moves to *f-natural* at a phrase ending on the second perfection of bar 35. In this case, it seems fairly certain that a singer would not use *f-sharp* in the triplum of bar 34. Likewise, the prominence of the tone *f*, starting on the upbeat to bar 22, supported by an F sonority on its downbeat and continuing into its second perfection, argues against applying *f-sharp* before *g* in bar 21.

[36] *f* appears as a passing tone in bar 16.

## CONCLUSION

THIS exploration of three late thirteenth-century motets on the *PORTARE* chant segment reveals their deliberate tonal shaping. Despite the limited harmonic vocabulary and registral span of this repertory, a composer could and did mould a motet in subtle ways to enhance *PORTARE*'s C and G foci, treating them relatively equally or sublimating one to the other. **Mo** 8,335 plays with the balance between G and C. **Mo** 7,296 and **Mo** 8,305 bring the pitch F into the mix: in the former C and G yield to a cleverly implemented ending on F; in the latter, F functions as a ploy for shifting attention to C in a predominantly G environment.

The means for creating tonal structure include the directed progressions that Fuller has documented in fourteenth-century music. As in that repertory, directed progressions in these late thirteenth-century motets do not all have the same impact, but vary according to how many voices articulate the progression, the duration of the phrase ending or following rest, voice-leading, and registral considerations, as well as linear motion in one voice which overlaps a phrase ending in another, which can weaken a sense of tonal stability. And sonorities that appear other than at phrase endings, particularly at phrase beginnings, may also play a major role in tonal shaping, assisted by register and voice-leading. Significantly enough, calculated voice-leading can at times emphasize a tone, even if not a sonority *per se*.

My study of these three motets on the *PORTARE* chant segment concludes that they project a high degree of tonal coherence. It sets the stage for an examination of earlier *PORTARE* motets to understand whether they also reveal such deliberate tonal structure and coherence, as well as explorations of other motet families from a similar vantage point.

CHAPTER 14

# Repetitions, Rhythmical Evolution, and Rhetoric in the Montpellier Codex

MARGARET DOBBY

It is often claimed that medieval motets put sound before sense or meaning. This is largely because of their polytextuality. Many musicologists maintain that the declamation of several texts at the same time must necessarily obscure the words and hinder understanding.[1] In addition, many believe that structural melodic patterns cannot exist in these motets because the influence of the pre-existent tenor citation on the musical polyphony is so restrictive.[2] When melodic repetitions occur, they are assumed to be accidental. Within the confines of the motet, therefore, the existence of any meaningful relationships between texts and music seems hardly possible and it would be vain to expect any compositional intention of this kind.

These assertions are, however, only general suppositions. Scholars have also explored the role of texts in the polyphony more thoroughly. Through studies of structural form and rhythm, they have demonstrated links between poems and the melodies in the upper parts of some motets.[3] I have demonstrated elsewhere that intricate relationships between texts and music at a closer range exist in many early motets on *FLOS FILIUS*, from the responsory *Stirps Jesse*.[4] Despite the restrictions of the pre-existent tenor, the composers use melodic repetitions, high register, and intervals in the upper parts to create links between the organization of the poems and the shape of the melodies. However, these early motets may be unique. Some of these pieces are repetitive and these repetitions have typically been understood to be a result of their relationships to highly formulaic organa and clausulae.[5] Composers may have reused pre-existent repetitions to create links between text

[1] This position is supported by many scholars. For instance, Dillon 2012b, 34, asserts that the polytextuality of a motet creates an 'aural obfuscation innate to its texture'. See also Pesce 1986, 97.

[2] See Sanders 1973, 562: 'Since the composition is not the product of free melodic invention, a motet sounds stiffer and more formal than a chanson, not only because of its massive fundament, but because the melodic design of the upper voices is more restricted .... Rooted in the pitches of the cantus firmus, motetus and triplum are pre-eminently concerned with the successive harmonious unfolding of numerical Gestalten.' See also ibid., 568: 'True imitation was so uncommon as to be negligible .... In the 14th century, too, imitation in the upper voices is of no significance.' On repetitions of no significance, see Everist 1994, 173.

[3] On the role of the text and the relationships between text and music, see Clément-Dumas and Fabre 2009, Clément 2013, and Clément 2014. On the role of the text, see Huot 1997, 236. On the repetitive process see Saint-Cricq 2009.

[4] Dobby 2012.

[5] Planchart 2003, 303.

and music. Besides, they are only preserved in manuscripts linked to the *Magnus liber organi* and in the so-called old corpus of **Mo**. This discussion, therefore, will focus on another tenor, the melisma *SOLEM*, to verify that such links between text and music could exist in other motets.

The tenor *SOLEM* comes from the responsory *Solem justicie*, sung on the feast of the Virgin Mary's Nativity from the eleventh century onwards.[6] Fulbert of Chartres must have composed the chant specifically for this celebration, just like the other two responsories, *Stirps Jesse* and *Ad nutum*.[7] Its melody is not much used in *Ars antiqua* motets. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, we find only three distinct motets based on *SOLEM* and all of them appear in the last fascicles of the Montpellier codex. They have no links with any known organa or clausulae.

The first of these three motets is *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,275), found in the seventh fascicle (fol. 307v). The second is *Amours/Solem/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,289 and 8,338), which is copied in both the seventh (fols 328r–329v) and eighth (fol. 338r) fascicles.[8] The third is *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM* (**Mo** 8,332), in the eighth fascicle (fols 382r–383v). The last two of these compositions are 'Petronian' motets, whose upper parts use syllabic semibreves and whose triplums' style resembles declamation.[9] By contrast, the upper parts of *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* employ semibreves only for ornamentation and are very repetitive – though the pace increases at the end of the motet, perhaps designed to make the last section of the piece stand out.

Despite their different styles, *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* and *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM* may not have been composed very many years apart, since the fascicles in which they appear were copied within a short time frame. Nevertheless, the new possibilities of subdividing the breve change the rhythmic profile of the 'Petronian' motet. Through a detailed analysis and comparison of the two motets – one from **Mo** 7, the other from **Mo** 8 – I address the following question: if any relationship exists between texts and music in these motets, does this change in rhythmical practice influence that link?

## A COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS BASED ON REPETITION

The motet **Mo** 7,275 – *Iam nubes/Iam novum/SOLEM* – which is incomplete in the seventh fascicle of **Mo**, was widely disseminated. It was copied in five manuscripts, with a text-only concordance in a sixth manuscript.[10] The extent of its circulation may be due to its well-shaped, efficient composition. The polyphony begins with a long melisma on *Iam*. The upper parts do not coincide in their phrase endings at

[6] Delaporte 1957, 55–6; Fassler 2010, 122–3; Cantus database, ID 007677, http://cantusindex.org/id/007677 (accessed 11 September 2017).

[7] Fassler 2000, 405.

[8] On possible reasons for the repetition of this motet in the eighth fascicle, see Chapter 7 by Anna Kathryn Grau in this volume.

[9] In her classification scheme outlined in Chapter 8 of this volume, Karen Desmond assigns these motets to the '135' group, p. 142.

[10] **Mo**, fol. 307v; **Trier C**, fol. 214v; **Hu**, fol. 120r; **LoD**, fol. 50v; **Tu**, fol. 6r. Textual concordance: **Onc**, fol. 83r.

any point. When one part sings a line, the other sings *Iam* on isolated longs.[11] The two upper parts are also very close in range, from whatever angle we look at them, confirming Elizabeth Eva Leach's hypothesis that the motet was composed in three parts from the start.[12] The piece is saturated with repetitions. This derives from the compositional choice to repeat the tenor *color* four times with a *talea* of the same length. The composer uses these repetitions in the tenor to build the repetitive melodies in both upper parts. The polyphony is actually very simple, but the motet is carefully composed. Both poems deal with the same topic – Mary's birth and its consequences:[13]

| | *Triplum* | | *Motetus* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [First part] | [1] ***Iam*** *nubes dissolvitur* | 7a pp | [1] ***Iam*** *novum sydus oritur,* | 8a pp | [First part] |
| | [2] ***Iam*** *patet gallaxia;* | 7b pp | [2] ***Iam*** *patet gallaxia,* | 7b pp | |
| | [3] ***Iam*** *flos ex spi[na rumpitur,* | 8a pp | [3] ***Iam*** *ex Iudea [nascitur,* | 8a pp | |
| | [4] ***Iam*** *oritur Maria.* | 7b p | [4] ***Iam*** *oritur Maria.* | 7b p | |
| [Second part] | [5] ***Iam*** *verum lumen cernitur,* | 8a pp | [5] ***Iam*** *nobis celum panditur,* | 8a pp | [Second part] |
| | [6] ***Iam*** *demonstratur via;* | 7b p | [6] ***Iam*** *det nobis gaudia* | 7b pp | |
| [Third part] | [7] ***Iam*** *pro nobis pia* | 6b p | [7] *In celi curia* | 6b pp | |
| | [8] *Exoret Maria,* | 6b p | [8] *Christus, cuius filia* | 7b pp | |
| | [9] *Ut fruamur gloria.* | 7b pp | [9] *Et mater es, Maria.* | 7b p | |

**Triplum:** Now is the cloud dispersed, now appears the Milky Way; now is the flower plucked from the thorn, now rises Mary. Now is the true light seen, now is the path revealed; now may pious Mary pray for us, that we may enjoy the glory.[14]

**Motetus:** Now the new star rises, now appears the Milky Way; now is born of Judea, now rises Mary. Now is heaven opened to us, now may Christ give us joy in the heavenly court, whose mother and daughter you are, O Mary.

Both poems directly evoke the tenor *SOLEM*, a chant segment taken from a responsory still in widespread use for the feast of Mary's Nativity in the thirteenth century.[15] The text of the responsory announces the rising of the star of the sea, the Virgin, who will give birth to the sun, Christ. Believers are bidden to rejoice at seeing the light. In other words, the two poems of the motet paraphrase the responsory, but focus on the role of Mary. In both texts there is also free quotation of the second line of the responsory *Ad nutum* (line 3 of each). The two clauses from the liturgical chant 'Just as the thorn bore the rose, and Judea bore Mary' (*Sicut spina rosam, genuit Judaea Mariam*) are distributed between the upper parts of the motet.

[11] On the English origins of this motet, see Stenzl 1970 and Leach 2011, 9.

[12] Leach 2011, 9.

[13] The abbreviation 'p' indicates a paroxytone line and 'pp' a proparoxytone.

[14] Stakel and Reliham 1985, 91.

[15] Fassler 2000, 414. 'Today the star of the sea, she who will bear the sun of justice, the supreme king, processes to her rising. ℣. Rejoice, faithful people, to see the holy light' (*Solem justitiae regem paritura suppremum, stella maria maris hodie processit ad ortum. ℣. Cernere diuinum lumen gaudete fideles*).

The polyphony allows the listener to hear the paraphrasing of the entire line of the responsory.[16] The triplum sings the nature metaphor – *Iam flos ex spina rumpitur* – which is immediately followed by an explanation in the motetus – *Iam Judea nascitur*.[17] The image of the flower (representing the Virgin) breaking away from the thorn is at once juxtaposed with a reference to Mary being born of Judea. It is noticeable, however, that the motet insists more on the break between Mary and Judea than on her origin, which is at the heart of the responsory.

The texts of the upper parts share the same vocabulary, the same consonances, and even the same lines of text. Both poems employ line 2 (*Iam patet gallaxia*) and line 4 (*Iam oritur Maria*) at the same place. And these textual phrases emphasize the main idea of the poem, namely that salvation has come to believers through the birth of Mary. Similarly, the versification of both texts is identical. They share the same line lengths and alternate between the same two rhymes in the same order.

Moreover, both texts employ anaphora, with *Iam* serving as their line-opener until the sixth and seventh lines (in bold type). Musically, this adverb is underlined in different ways. First of all, at the beginning of the motet, the word is highlighted by the long melisma that lasts one *color*, a quarter of the composition. Even though the melodies are different, this characteristic is also to be found in the motet *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* recorded in **Onc** (fol. 83r). In the **Mo** motet, the word *Iam* is further highlighted by rhythm. Each part alternately sings *Iam* with longs surrounded by rests. From a grammatical point of view, this word is not significant, but its meaning is crucial for the composer. This is why he has accentuated it, poetically and musically. It emphasizes the break between the past and the salvation of the present, between Jews and Christians, which has come thanks to the Virgin's birth. Christ has been born because of Mary's Nativity. Through him, she is able to redeem humankind. This is why the Milky Way appears and opens in both texts (lines 2). But the figure of Mary is also redemptive in herself. Overcoming the desires of the flesh, she has redressed Eve's original sin and is able to redeem humanity.[18]

As a consequence, the upper voices deal with the figure of Mary as both a redemptive figure and an intermediary between Christ and all believers. In the motetus, the first part (lines 1–4) hails Mary's birth and its consequences through metaphors – invoking a star and the theme of light – and through a periphrasis, invoking the birth in Judea. These figures of speech are explained in line 4, which holds the key to the first part: Mary has been born. Next, in the second part (lines 5–9), the motetus goes on to proclaim the consequence of the Virgin's birth: the heavens are now opened to believers. The last clause (lines 6–9) addresses the relationship between God and Mary and her role of intercession. It is a prayer exhorting Christ to give joy to believers.

[16] Fassler 2000, 414. 'At the command of the Lord, enriching our dignity: Just as the thorn bore the rose and Judea bore Mary. V. So that virtue might cover vice and thanksgiving our guilt' (*Ad nutum domini nostrum ditantis honorem sicut spina rosam genuit Iudee Mariam.* V. *Ut uitium uirtus operiret gratisculpam*).

[17] The parallelism between the two lines is strengthened by their shared grammatical organization.

[18] In his sermon *Approbatae consuetudinis*, composed for the feast of Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres interprets Genesis 3:15 in this way. Crushing the serpent's head means that the Virgin wins against the desire of the flesh. See Laurentin 1954.

In the triplum, the development of the poem is very similar. The first part (lines 1–4) deals with the same subject as the motetus, employing metaphors of the heavens and of a flower. And, in the same way, line 4 reveals the meaning of the different metaphors: Mary is born. The second part (lines 5–6) explains revelation: the true faith has been disclosed; and line 5 freely quotes the verse of the *Solem justicie* responsory (*Cernere divinum lumen*), which becomes, in the motet, *Iam verum lumen cernitur*. Finally, in the last part (lines 7–9), the speaker prays for Mary's compassion.

The textual rhythm of the two poems confirms and highlights this semantic organization. This is to be seen in the placing of the stressed syllables: both texts alternate proparoxytone and paroxytone lines to delimit the different parts. In the motetus, the last lines of the two parts (lines 4 and 9) are the only paroxytone lines of the poem: there is a stress on the penultimate syllable of *Maria*. This calls attention to the name of the Virgin, to the key phrase which announces Mary's birth and to her link with Christ. The first part of the triplum is organized in exactly the same way. However, the disposition of the rest of it is different. A second part, composed of two lines (lines 5–6), also ends with a paroxytone. This rhythmical break underlines the meaning of the line heralding revelation of the true faith: *Iam demonstratur via*. By contrast, the third part (lines 7–9), made prominent by the last repetition of *Iam*, is framed by two paroxytone lines followed by a proparoxytone one.

The author has thus created very similar texts paraphrasing the responsories *Solem justicie* and *Ad nutum* in a simple but sophisticated way. However, there are some noticeable differences between the upper parts, and the composer highlights these musically using repetitions.

The polyphony is extremely repetitive. This is a deliberate compositional choice. During the first three repetitions of the *color*, reiteration of the same pitches in the tenor leads each time to the same consonances in the upper parts and to very similar melodic phrases.[19] In other words, each time the tenor sings *D–C–F–E* (marked by a box and labelled 'B' in Example 14.1), the motetus or the triplum sings the consonances *d–c–c–b* (marked by dashed box and labelled 'b').[20]

To diversify the polyphony, the composer simply uses voice-exchange. Table 14.1 summarizes all the repetitions resulting from the tenor. At a glance, the break in the pattern is obvious. When the tenor comes to its third repetition, the motetus ceases to sing phrase 'a' and moves on to formula 'd' (highlighted in grey in Table 14.1). Through this melodic change, the composer creates a musical parallel and emphasizes the links between the third lines of both the poems, namely the quotation of *Ad nutum* about Mary's Jewish origin. This is all the more remarkable considering that these lines correspond with the third repetition of the tenor *SOLEM* about the Virgin's Nativity. Despite her origin, Mary gives birth to the 'sun of justice' (*Solem justicie*) and makes the redemption of humanity possible. The melodic repetitions of formula 'd'are marked by wavy boxes in Example 14.1.

[19] The beginning of each phrase b in the upper parts is slightly ornamented.

[20] My transcriptions of **Mo** 7,275 are based on Rokseth 1935–9. I draw on the manuscript **Tu** for the ending of **Mo** 7,275 (incomplete, which breaks off just before the third tenor cursus). In Examples 14.1 and 14.3 the ligature brackets have been removed.

Ex. 14.1 The opening of *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,275).

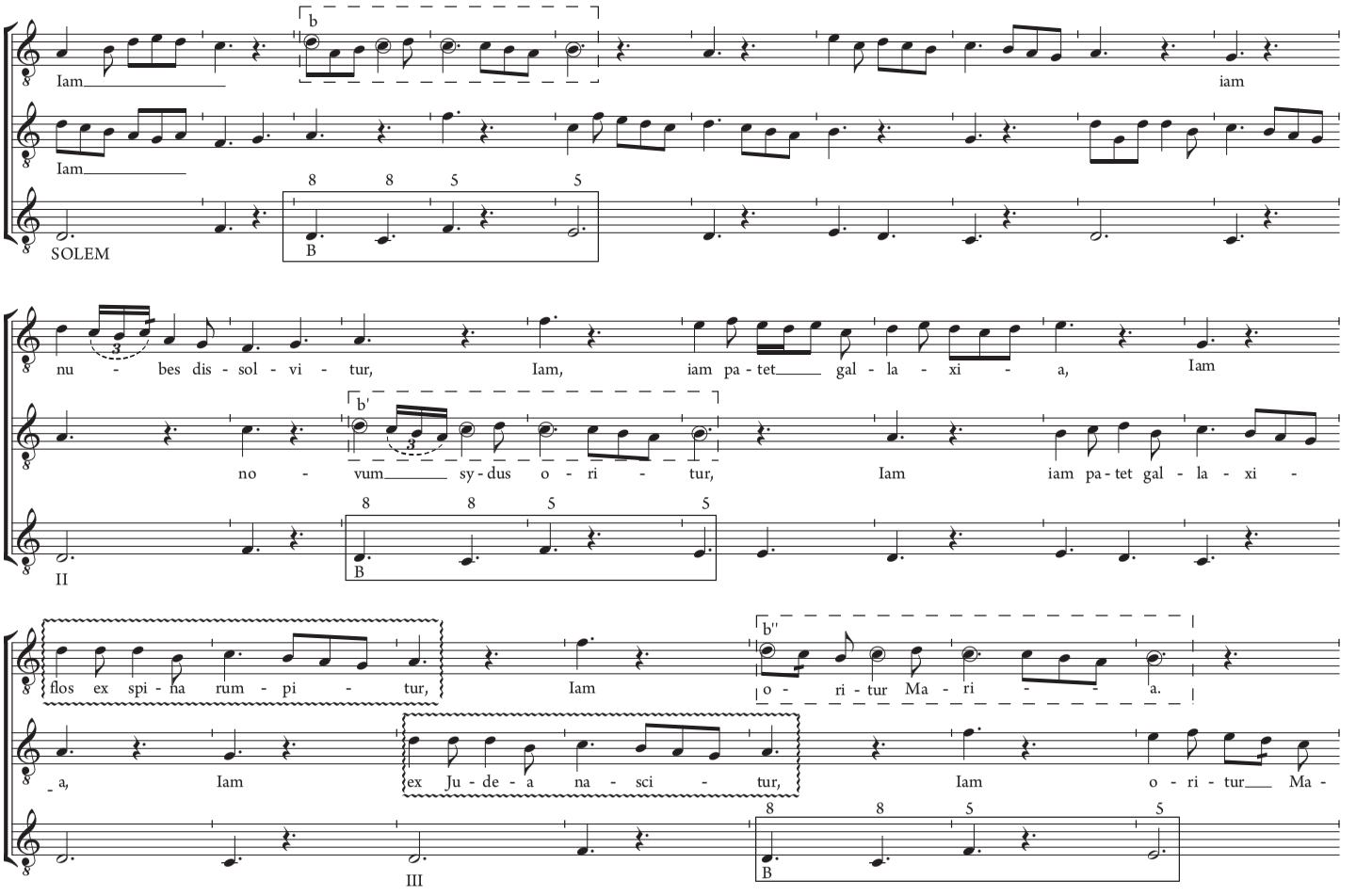


Table 14.1 Repetitions in the polyphony induced by the tenor

| *Tenor statement* | *Upper voice* | *Tenor A (d–f / d)* | *Tenor B (d–c–f / e)* | *Tenor C (e–d / e)* | *Tenor D (e–d–c / d)* | *Tenor E (d–c / c)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **I** | triplum | | b | | d′ | |
| | motetus | a | | c | | d |
| **II** | triplum | a′ | | c′ | | d |
| | motetus | | b′ | | d″ | |
| **III** | triplum | | b″ | | d″ | |
| | motetus | d | | c′ | | d |

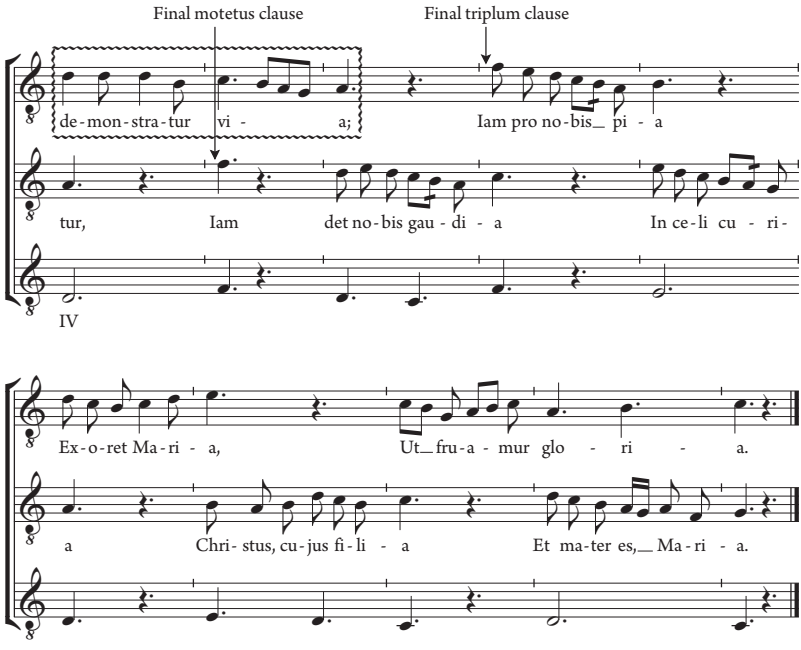
Another change is noteworthy. From the beginning of the motet, the first line of the triplum is sung before the first line of the motetus. However, from line 6 of the motetus and 7 of the triplum, the alternation between the two parts becomes reversed. The last clause in the text of the motetus (which starts line 6) begins before the last part of the triplum (which starts line 7). In other words, the two poems keep on alternating but the motetus now sings the first line of the last clause before the last one of the triplum (see Example 14.2).

To bring this polyphonic change about at the same time as the texts, the composer has delayed the musical transformation of the triplum. When the tenor repeats for the fourth time, the triplum continues and sings phrase 'd' once more. This supplementary repetition of 'd' highlights the final line of the second part in the triplum *Iam demonstratur via* (line 6). The true faith has been revealed and the demonstration is now finished. The conclusion of both parts begins.

This moment coincides approximately with the fourth repetition of the *color* (see Example 14.2). At this point, the pace accelerates and the upper parts begin to sing shorter descending musical phrases in syllabic breves one after the another. Both voices sing consonances of octaves and fifths with the tenor, ornamented to different degrees. This polyphonic and melodic change coincides with the beginning of the last textual clause of both poems, when the speakers make their petition for joy and intercession.

To summarize: the tenor repetitions the composer has deployed in this motet create a surprisingly systematic polyphony. The formulae that emerge in the upper parts serve to generate an ordered series of melodic repetitions, a continuum reinforced by the rhythmic mode and by the alternation of upper voices. In this context, any transformation is highly noticeable. The composer has created two melodic changes, and has done this so as to let his music highlight certain clauses in both texts and to support the key themes of this motet: that Mary's coming into the world has brought about a break with the Jewish people and the redemption of humanity. Once all the arguments have been presented, the composer dispenses with melodic repetitions and changes the rhythmic pace for a conclusion in which believers pray for joy and compassion.

Ex. 14.2 The conclusion of *Iam nubes/Iam sydus/SOLEM* (**Mo** 7,275).




## A COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS BASED ON RHYTHM

The 'Petronian' motet *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM* (**Mo** 8,332) in **Mo** 8 is longer and perhaps more complex than **Mo** 7,275. The three parts never rest at the same place and the tenor is sung three times with the same *talea*, which is mainly composed of longs. However, in the vernacular-texted upper parts, there is no repetition and consequently no repetition directly related to the repetition in the tenor. Moreover, hockets regularly interrupt the flow of the motetus and triplum. Both upper voices therefore show a huge rhythmic and melodic variety. The tenor moves slowly, singing longs; the motetus use semibreves but mainly for ornamentation; and, throughout, the triplum is almost totally composed of syllabic semibreves. The different parts are therefore more independent of each other than is the case in **Mo** 7,275.

A refrain (vdB 1669) also appears in both voices of this motet and the texts of the upper parts seem to be created from, and around, these insertions. The only textual concordances to be found appear in three other motets and in *La Court de Paradis*.[21] In the latter, the refrain is sung for dancing but in a sacred context. God holds a ball in the court of Paradise with the Virgin and all the saints. Conversely, the two upper parts of the motet deal with the themes of courtly love but are still based on the tenor *SOLEM*, which refers to Mary's Nativity.

[21] For a comparison of all occurrences of this refrain, see Ibos-Augé 2007, 244 and 253–5. See also van den Boogaard 1969, 342; Butterfield 2002, 100.

In the motetus, the refrain begins and ends the poem. However, its form has been changed from the version of the refrain found elsewhere:

| ***La Cour de Paradis*** | **Motetus of Mo 8,332** | |
|---|---|---|
| *Se j'ai amé folement,* | *'Se j'ai folement amé'* … | [1] |
| *Saiges sui, si m'en repent.* | *'Je m'en repent'.* | [11] |

In the motetus, only two clauses remain: if the speaker has foolishly loved, he repents. Moreover, at the beginning, the words *amé* and *folement* have been interchanged. This introduces a second rhyme from the refrain. In fact, the motetus employs only two rhymes, both coming from the citation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [1] | *'Se j'ai folement amé'* | 7a |
| [2] | *Et moi mout grevé* | 5a |
| [3] | *Sans alegement,* | 5b |
| [4] | *Ce set mon cuer, qui le sent.* | 8b |
| [5] | *Cierement l'ai comparé.* | 7a |
| [6] | *Mais or sui bien a mon gré* | 7a |
| [7] | *D'Amours assené,* | 5a |
| [8] | *Qui tous biens rent;* | 4b |
| [9] | *Et pour ce d'amer* | 5a |
| [10] | *Si tres folement* | 5b |
| [11] | *'Je m'en repent'.* | 4b |

> I loved foolishly and grievously pained myself without respite – my heart knows it, for it feels it. I have paid for it dearly. But now Love, the source of all good things, has put me on a path that is much to my liking. Thus, for having loved so foolishly, I repent.[22]

In this poem, the speaker seems incapable of learning from experience and appears to be falling in love over and over again. In the first part (lines 1–5), he explains that if he has loved foolishly, he feels and knows it, because he has already experimented with love, and this knowledge has been acquired painfully. But, in the second part (lines 6–8), despite his experience, the speaker announces that, unwillingly, he loves again. Finally, the third part (lines 9–11) concludes, re-using the words *amé* and *folement* to bring up the last line of the refrain: *Je m'en repent*. The speaker regrets his foolishness in having loved again.

Unlike the motetus, the text of the triplum maintains a well-articulated argument. This poem is therefore much longer and looks more like rhymed prose. The refrain appears at the end and gives one rhyme to the text (lines 33 and 35):

[22] Stakel and Relihan 1985, 114.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [**First part**] | [1] | Je cuidoie bien metre jus | I |
| | | Le dous mestier d'Amour, | |
| | | *Mais* je me sentoie plus | |
| | | Que devant *sou*pris doucement ▌ | |
| | [5] | D'une amour *nou*vele : | |
| | | de la gracieuse**te,** | |
| | | **Qui a anon** doucete | |
| | | A son droit non. | |
| [**Second part**] | | Ele est si tres douce, voirement, ▌ | |
| | [10] | Que je cuide bien certainement, | |
| | | Que Dieus et nature | |
| | | I apelerent Amour | |
| | | A fourmer si faite creature ; | |
| [**Third part**] | | **Car en li ne faut** *riens,* qu'e*le* | II |
| | [15] | *Ne soit amourouse*te | |
| | | Parfaitement. ▌ | |
| [**Fourth part**] | | Ele est bru*ne*te, sadete, | |
| | | Cointe, jonete, | |
| | | Grailete, saverousete | |
| | [20] | Et plus que nule autre joliete ; | |
| | | **a la boucete** | |
| | | **en dous** ris vermeillete, | |
| | | plaisaument; ▌ | |
| | | simplete en sa manierete | |
| | [25] | est et de bel conte*nement* ; | |
| | | *son* dous cler vi*ai*re | |
| | | monstre, qu'ele est debonaire : | III |
| [**Fifth part**] | | **Ce me fait** *en* grant joie esperer *de li* | |
| | | Merci prochai*ne*ment. ▌ | |
| [**Sixth part**] | [30] | Si l'aim si bien, | |
| | | Dous Dieus, **que j'i preing** | |
| | | **Bel ocoi**son de dire : | |
| | | 'Se j'ai *amé trop* folement | |
| | | Autre que li, | |
| | [35] | Je m'en repent'. | |
| [**Seventh part**] | | S'en graci de cuer bone Amour, | |
| | | Que aprés dolour | |
| | | Par *ma* folour | |
| | | grant *douchour me rent*.[23] | |

[23] For an explanation of the formatting used here, see p. 265 below.

> I thought I had set aside the sweet tasks of love, but I felt, even more than in the past, sweetly caught up in a new love: love for the charming little thing whose proper name is such a sweet one. She is so sweet, in truth, I indeed believe that God and Nature called on Love to fashion such a perfect creature; for in her there is nothing that would keep her from being the perfect lover. She is dark-haired, charming, comely and young, fragile, pleasing and prettier than any other; her little, red mouth is graced by sweet laughter; her manner is straightforward and her bearing proper; her sweet, bright face shows her nobility. All this makes me hope joyfully for her mercy ere long. I love her so well, dear God, that I have good reason to say: 'If I have foolishly loved another than her, I repent of it'. I offer heartfelt thanks to good Love who, after self-wrought sorrow, has given me great sweetness.[24]

The first part (lines 1–8) presents the speaker's position. He announces that he is going to stop serving Love, but he is ambivalent. He is in love with a perfect lady. The rest of the text is an argument in favour of this love. The speaker wants to demonstrate that he cannot help but adore this exceptional lady. The first argument seems the strongest (lines 9–13). The speaker explains that his lady must have been created by God and by Nature, helped by Love. Similarly, in the following lines (lines 14–16), he claims that she is the perfect loving lady. Her female character is idealized rather than embodied. The speaker employs the commonplaces of physical and moral description (lines 17–27) only to prove how right it is for him to love her. With his firm trust in the lady's qualities, the speaker seems to believe that he will soon benefit from her mercy (lines 28–9). Then, before God, he declares his love, borrowing from the refrain (lines 30–5). A new clause, *Autre que li*, alters the import of the citation to fit this new position. No longer is foolish love denounced; it is loving any other lady that the speaker condemns. In the conclusion (lines 36–8), the speaker speaks directly to the figure of Love and thanks this personified being for giving him great sweetness. The vocabulary of the refrain is re-employed to state a new position: the speaker has suffered because of his madness.

In the polyphony, the two poems seem disconnected because of the fast pace of the triplum. But both texts are carefully crafted and they work together. The triplum is higher in register and much easier to make out than the motetus, but this is the composer's considered choice: the polyphony enables him to establish a hierarchy between voices. The only moment when the motetus sings at a higher pitch than the triplum coincides with the rendering of the refrain at the beginning and end of this voice-part.

However, in this motet, there is no use of musical repetition to create links between texts and melodies. Even so, the composer employs intervals, registers, and all the parameters of rhythm to build such a relationship for his declamatory purpose. The triplum is almost exclusively composed of fast semibreves. This makes the employment of breves and longs all the more noticeable. The reverse process is also significant. The composer divides the breves into four or five semibreves

[24] Ibid., 114.

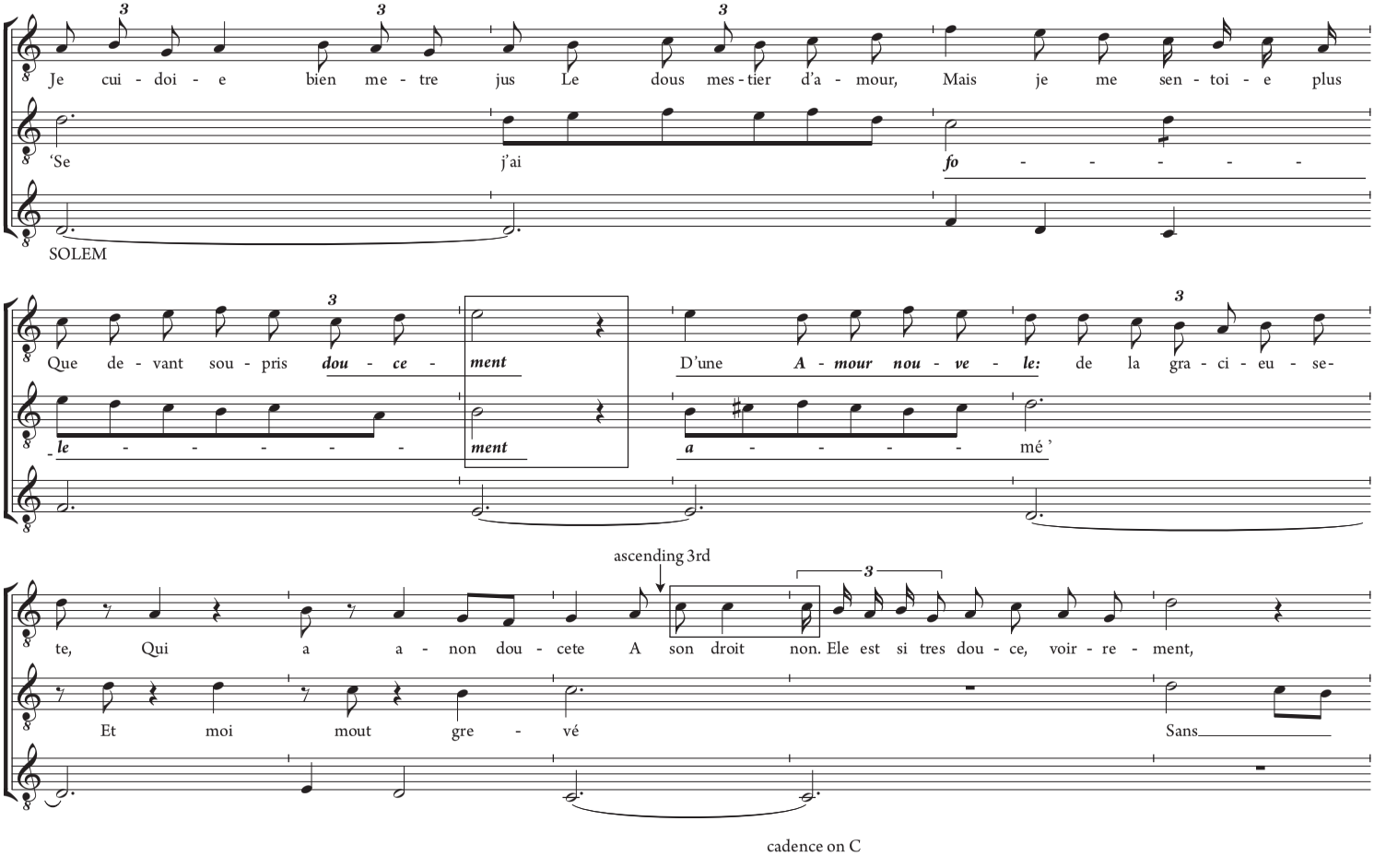
only ten times in the whole of the triplum and he uses this diversity to highlight key words of the poem. In addition, he disposes perfect breve rests carefully into the triplum to organize the flow of the melody and the text. These nearly always coincide with long rests, preceded by longs, in the motetus. In this way, he allows listeners a better chance of hearing the triplum. These rhythmic particularities are very often preceded by hockets. Similarly, the melody of the triplum, which follows fairly closely the declamations of speech, is almost entirely composed of intervals that move stepwise in seconds. Of the 255 melodic intervals the triplum contains, there are only thirty-one thirds, nine fourths, and one fifth (including the hocket passages). Melodic leaps therefore stand out. Likewise, the use of a high register and the pivotal pitch *g* helps the composer draw attention to certain clauses and words.

For instance, in the first part, the upper voices end together and sing a long followed by a perfect breve rest (marked by a box in Example 14.3). This gives listeners a pause to appreciate the textual positions of the two parts and to hear the rhyme *-ment* from the refrain. In the triplum, the speaker loves again; in the motetus, he evokes the folly of his former love. A new *doucement* is opposed to the *folement* of the refrain (underlined in Example 14.3). Following this, *d'une amour nouvele* is sung simultaneously with *amé* in the motetus (also underlined in Example 14.3) while the two voices cross each other, using semibreves. The new love of the triplum is thus thrown into contrast with the past, foolish love of the motetus. Similarly, the end of the first part is underlined by a hocket passage on *Qui a anon* (at the start of the third system of Example 14.3). In addition, a repetition of the final note on *droit non* (marked by a box), preceded by an ascending leap of a third, reinforces the conclusive cadence on C and signals the end of this initial exposition of the speaker's dilemma.

In the triplum, each textual clause, line, or phrase is sung using all the rhythmic, intervallic, and melodic devices available to reinforce the rhetorical impact of the text. To show how the composer deploys these so as to emphasize words and clauses, the text of the triplum is given above with special markings to show places where particular features appear in the music. The perfect breve rests of the triplum are represented by vertical lines and perfect long rests in the motetus are highlighted in grey. Syllables sung on longs are doubly underlined, while those on breves are singly underlined. Passages with hockets are printed in bold. Syllables sung on high *f* and *g* appear in italics.

There are three other passages that are remarkable because the composer concentrates the different processes which have been referred in a short time frame. The third part, introducing the perfect amorous lady (lines 14–16), is one of these significant moments. The first line – *Car en li ne faut riens* – is sung in hocket with the motetus and coincides with the second repetition of the tenor *SOLEM*. Next, the triplum sings *qu'ele ne soit amoureusete parfaitement*, employing semibreves combined with a certain insistence on high *f* and *g*, while the motetus falls momentarily silent. Finally, a long followed by a rest reinforces the last line and the rhyme of the word *parfaitement*. All of these devices call attention to the argument concerning the lady's perfection, which seems to be particularly important for the composer. At the same time, repetition of the tenor *SOLEM* allows a Marian reinterpretation of the courtly triplum. The exceptional birth of the perfect lady in the

Ex. 14.3 The opening of *Je cuidoie/Se j'ai folement/SOLEM* (**Mo** 8,332).



preceding lines (lines 9–13) corresponds to Mary's Nativity and points to it, so that the Virgin and the perfect loving lady become one, solely deserving of true love.

The fifth part, which treats the speaker's earnest desire to obtain the lady's mercy (see lines 28–9) also seems particularly significant from a musical and textual point of view. These lines crystallize the speaker's hope of his new love. The composer has therefore emphasized this part, beginning it with hocket on *Ce me fait*. Moreover, when the triplum sings *en grant joie esperer de li Merci prochainement*, the division of the breve into four semibreves, all sung on high *g* and *f*, enables the composer to stress his insistence on the lady granting him mercy. In the meantime, the motetus sings a long, then rests momentarily. The triplum is therefore thrown into sharp focus. To conclude, the sentence ends with a long preceded by an ascending leap of a third, which is followed by a rest. This underlines the rhyme in *-ment*. Again, this special moment coincides with the repetition of the tenor.

Finally, the speaker declares his love by re-using the material of the refrain (lines 33–5). The clause here is announced by a hocket passage, after which the motetus sings *si tres folement*, which leads to the altered quotation *Se j'ai amé trop folement, Autre que li, Je m'en repent*. This is sung on *g*, while the motetus below has a long followed by a rest. The last clause, *Je m'en repent*, is also highlighted by the division of the breve into five semibreves. Finally, the motetus takes the floor again to repeat *Je m'en repent*, but at a slower pace.

Thus, even if the voices appear almost independent of each other, there is a very close link between them and between their texts and the melodies. No specific pattern is used to govern this motet, but the rhythm and all of its parameters, including the new division of the breve, are employed to the full. The composer uses these devices to illuminate the texts and to give a supplementary twist to their oratory, prompting the listener to understand the polytextuality as commentary.

## CONCLUSION

At first glance, the two pieces discussed seem to have little in common. **Mo** 7,275 is shorter than the 'Petronian' motet **Mo** 8,332 and seems much simpler. In it, the voices have equal importance, whereas, in the second motet, the triplum takes precedence over the motetus thanks to the innovative division of the breve. In sum, these pieces use completely contrasting compositional strategies. In **Mo** 7,275, the polyphony is simple and repetitive, even mechanical. The upper parts are closely linked to the tenor, and all the more so because all the parts share the same level of rhythmic activity. But, among all its repetitions, any polyphonic, rhythmic, or melodic change in the motet stands out for listener. The composer exploits this to underline key moments in the text of the upper parts. This strategy works particularly well for a motet developing a parallel commentary on the tenor and on Mary's Nativity. By contrast, in the second piece, the tenor does not offer a framework that would encourage direct repetition based on the lower voice. The flow of the long triplum, which has no repeated phrases, denies the listener a sense of melodic coherence. However, as in the first motet, each rhythmical change stands out and each highlights certain lines of the text. In so doing, the musical setting reinforces the pluri-textual commentary. The composer uses hockets, rests, high register, intervals, and rhythm to underline the key moments of the texts. Under

these circumstances, the declamation of the triplum comes to surpass the motetus, and thus an audible hierarchy forms, mirroring the hierarchy of positions taken to reach the only acceptable love, that of Mary.

Despite the two motets' very different procedures, therefore, the rhythmical change does not transform the relationships between texts and music: the two composers work with the same rhetorical intention. The use of the innovative division of the breve in **Mo** 8,332 is only a new way to enhance the composer's position. In both motets, the polyphony and the individual melodic lines work together to help listeners understand the texts easily and to highlight the textual organizations of the poems. Indeed, the music, thanks to melodic repetitions or rhythms, does more: it reveals focal points where the texts illuminate one another, and it contributes to the resulting mutual commentary, bringing the texts closer together and showing how they interrelate. All this is done to enhance the sounding impact of the texts themselves.

Does that allow us to draw a broader conclusion about the relationships between fascicles 7 and 8? Unfortunately, it is difficult to make general statements about **Mo** as a whole from two motets. However, the analysis presented here confirms a sense of compositional continuity and chronological closeness between the two fascicles and their musical contents.

CHAPTER 15

# Shedding light on **Mo** 8,304: *Alma virgo virginum/ Benedicta es, Maria*

RACHEL DAVIES

That a tenor line's liturgical context was expected to hold some significance for the subject matter of a motet is attested by the fourteenth-century theorist Egidius de Murino.[1] He writes: 'First select a tenor from any antiphon or responsory or other melody in the antiphonary, and the words should correspond to the material that you want to treat' (*Primo accipe tenorem alicuius antiphone vel responsorii vel alterius cantus de antiphonario et debent verba concordare cum materia de qua vis facere motetum*).[2] A substantial branch of motet scholarship in recent decades has explored the musical and textual interplay between tenors drawn from liturgical chants and the texted voices placed above them.[3] Focusing on *Alma virgo virginum/Benedicta es, Maria/[TENOR]* (**Mo** 8,304, fols 350v–351v, hereafter **Mo** 304), the first motet in fascicle 8 following the opening *Deus in adiutorium*, this study explores the apparent mismatch between the motet's tenor and its upper voices.

The triplum and motetus texts clearly align the motet with the Feast of the Assumption:[4]

[1] Egidius's precise identity is unconfirmed. See Hoppin and Clercx 1959, 84–5.

[2] From the treatise *De modo componendi tenores motetorum*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Lat. 5321, and Washington, Library of Congress, Ms. ML171.J6, ed. and trans. in Leech-Wilkinson 1989, 1:18 and 1:21. See also Clark 1996, 3–6.

[3] See, for example, Baltzer 1997; Dillon 2012b; Huot 1997; Pesce 1997; Rothenberg 2011.

[4] Translation from Stakel and Relihan 1985, 103.

**triplum**
*Alma virgo virginum,*
*salus hominum,*
*que sola digna es portare*
*Christum, regem omnium,*
*tu es vera lux cecorum,*
*miseratrix miserorum,*
*verus sol iusticie,*
*mater misericordie.*
*Te elegit*
*et preelegit*
*angelorum dominus*
*et electam te assumpsit*
*in choris celestibus.*
*O virgo laudabilis,*
*invituperabilis*
*virgo plena gratia,*
*sis nobis propicia,*
*ut per te frui mereamur*
*sempiterna gloria!*

Kindly virgin of virgins, salvation of mankind, who alone are worthy to bear Christ the King of All, you are the true light of the blind, you have pity on the wretched, you are the true sun of justice, the mother of compassion. The Lord of the angels selected and preselected you and, once selected, he assumed you into the heavenly choirs. O praiseworthy Virgin, blameless, Virgin full of grace, be kind to us, that through you we may deserve to enjoy eternal glory!

**motetus**
*Benedicta es, Maria,*
*virgo, mater Domini,*
*que assumpta es in celis.*
*Admirant te*[5] *angeli:*
*'Que est ista, que ascendit?*
*Omne lumen hec transcendit*
*sole splendidior;*
*hec est pulcra et decora,*
*que clarescit ut aurora*
*omni luce clarior.'*
*Hec est virgo, quam dilexit*
*Dominus, quando respexit*
*virginem humillimam.*
*O virgo beatissima,*
*duc nos per precamina*
*ad eternam gloriam!*

Blessed are you, O Mary, Virgin, mother of the Lord, who are assumed into heaven. The angels are amazed at you: 'Who is this woman who has ascended? She surpasses every light, is brighter than the sun, she is beautiful and lovely, she dazzles like the dawn, more dazzling than any light.' This is the virgin whom the Lord loved when He saw that she was the most humble virgin. O most blessed Virgin, lead us by your prayers to eternal glory!

The tenor, however, which has no designation in the manuscript, has associations with the Holy Saturday responsory *Plange quasi virgo*, aligning the motet with Passiontide suffering, darkness, and death – themes apparently incompatible with the celebratory Assumption texts of the upper voices. This study explores how the interaction of **Mo** 304's three voices brings out meanings that would not otherwise be obvious – or indeed present at all – in each separate vocal line. The study considers how these meanings, which give subtle thematic unity to the motet, might

[5] **Mo** has *admirantes*, which is amended to *admirant te* in Stakel and Relihan 1985, 103.

facilitate the identification of the tenor part and the motet's original performance context.[6]

## **MO** 304's TENOR AND ITS ASSOCIATION WITH THE HOLY SATURDAY RESPONSORY *PLANGE QUASI VIRGO*

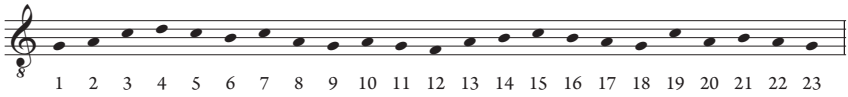
**Mo** 304's tenor uses a set of twenty-three pitches repeated three times (see Example 15.1a). Its liturgical source remained unidentified in scholarship until 1969, when Gordon Anderson suggested that it derived from the melisma *et amara* ('and bitterness') in the chant *Plange quasi virgo*, the third responsory of Matins Nocturn I on Holy Saturday, as given in the Sarum Antiphonal (Example 15.1b).[7] The *Plange quasi virgo* responsory as given in BnF lat. 15181, fol. 291r, from Paris c.1300, is geographically and temporally pertinent to **Mo** 304, and gives a slightly closer match with the tenor line (Example 15.1c). The first nine of the tenor's pitches match the opening nine pitches of the BnF lat. 15181 chant melisma; pitches eleven and twelve of the tenor match pitches ten and eleven of the chant melisma; and pitches thirteen to fifteen of the tenor match pitches fourteen to sixteen in the chant melisma. In a subsequent article, Anderson noted a closer match between the tenor and the melisma from the neuma for the eighth mode (Example 15.1d).[8] Anderson calls the tenor line 'wholly identical' to the eighth-

[6] On the concepts of 'performance', 'audience', and comprehension of the genre by those who first sang and listened to motets, a knowledge of Latin, biblical exegesis, liturgical chants, and sometimes classical texts or courtly literature is required to understand the subtle allegories and multiple layers of meaning in motets. Therefore, as Sylvia Huot explains, original audience and performers would probably have comprised 'clerics and members of the university and … [members of] ecclesiastical and aristocratic courts' (Huot 1997, 9). This demographic is implied by Johannes de Grocheio's comments in his treatise *De musica*: 'this music [*sic*] should not be performed before the unlettered, who would not understand its subtlety or take pleasure in hearing it, but rather before the educated and those who cultivate the subtleties of the arts' (Page 1993b, 36). Page 1993a, 43–64, provides an informative discussion on which members of society might have best appreciated the genre.

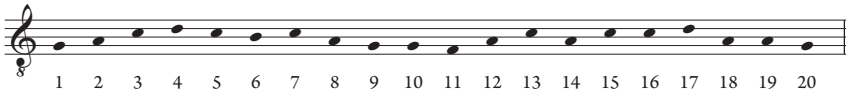
[7] Anderson 1969, 229–30. The *Plange quasi virgo* responsory is CAO 7387 (referring to the indices of Office chants in Hésbert, 1963–79). At the time of writing the Cantus database listed ninety-nine manuscripts containing versions of the responsory, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/ (accessed 11 September 2017). The majority of these ninety-nine manuscripts are of Italian, German, and French origin, c.1100–1400. Passiontide liturgy was not commonly used to supply motet tenors until midway through the fourteenth century, when examples appear in Machaut and others. For example, the *Plange quasi virgo* is the tenor source for Machaut's *Quant en moy vint premierement/Amour et biaute parfait/AMARA VALDE* (M1), discussed in Clark 2012 and Robertson 2002, 110–13.

[8] Anderson 1974, 399. The eighth-mode neuma is given in Blom 1954, 803. Tonaries, which classified chant according to the eight modes, generally preceded each modal group with an intonation formula, or 'neuma', designed to help singers memorize the tone and semitone intervals of the mode. From the tenth century the neumas were given Latin texts that alluded to the number of the mode, and neuma melodies were sometimes appended to liturgical chants. The eighth mode neuma was texted *Octo sunt beatitudines* ('There are eight blessings') referring to Matthew 5:3–11. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, modal neumas were occasionally used as motet

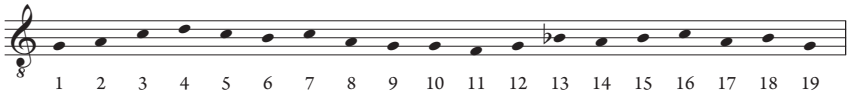
Ex. 15.1a The twenty-three pitches of **Mo** 304's tenor.



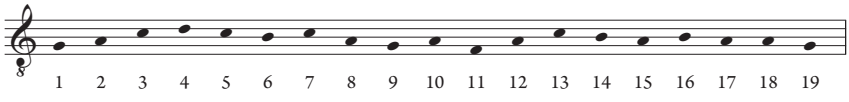

Ex. 15.1b The *et amara* melisma from the Holy Saturday responsory *Plange quasi virgo*, Sarum Antiphonal, pl. 223.




Ex. 15.1c The *et amara* melisma from the Holy Saturday responsory *Plange quasi virgo*, BnF lat. 15181, fol. 291r.




Ex. 15.1d The melisma for the neuma for the eighth mode.




mode melisma but, in fact, of the melisma's nineteen pitches, eighteen match **Mo** 304's twenty-three pitches, the tenor line incorporating extra notes for its eleventh, fourteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth pitches, and disregarding the penultimate pitch of the melisma.

Despite the motet's Assumption-themed upper voices, **Mo** 304's tenor does not appear to have any connection with the Assumption or other Marian liturgies.[9] As far as I am aware, there are no concordances for this tenor in other motets and no further progress has been made in discovering a conclusive identity for it in its twenty-three-pitch entirety. Given the correspondence between **Mo** 304's tenor and the *Plange quasi virgo* responsory, it would seem reasonable to suggest that,

tenors. **Mo** contains five such examples, in **Mo** 4,54; 4,56; 5,117; 5,139; and 8,308. As Anderson notes, the eighth-mode neuma given in Blom 1954 does bear a strong resemblance to **Mo** 304's tenor. However, other than labelling it as being from 'the later middle ages', Blom does not give a source for this neuma and I have so far been unable to verify its geographical or temporal origins, or the type of liturgical chant to which it might have been appended. On modal neumas, see Bailey 1974; Busse Berger 2005, 47–84; Hiley 1995, 331–3; and David Hiley, 'Neuma', in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 11 September 2017).

[9] When noting the similarity between **Mo** 304's tenor and the *et amara* melisma, Anderson refers to the *Plange quasi virgo* chant as a 'Marian respond' (Anderson 1969, 229). It is unclear whether he mistakenly assumed the chant to be Marian – perhaps because of its appearance in **Mo** 304 – or whether he was alluding to the fact that a Passiontide chant depicting a lamenting virgin has obvious, if not explicit, Marian resonance.

for the medieval singer/listener, the tenor may have constituted an allusion to the *Plange quasi virgo* – particularly if the motet was performed soon after the chant's liturgical use.[10] But if **Mo** 304's tenor reminded the medieval listener of the *Plange quasi virgo*, this would underpin the Marian, Assumption-themed upper voices with morbid Passiontide subject matter, apparently creating a problematic thematic incongruity within the motet. An overview of the *Plange quasi virgo* responsory's context in the Middle Ages will facilitate the exploration of some subtle thematic correspondences that exist between this Passiontide chant and **Mo** 304's Assumption-themed upper voices.

## THE LITURGICAL AND RITUAL CONTEXT OF THE *PLANGE QUASI VIRGO* RESPONSORY

THE *Plange quasi virgo* chant reads: ℟ *Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea. Ululate pastores, in cinere et cilicio; quia veniet dies Domini magna et amara valde.* ℣ *Ululate, pastores, et clamate; aspergite vos cinere* (℟ 'Lament like a virgin, my people. Lament shepherds, in ashes and sackcloth; for the day of the Lord is near, which shall be great and very bitter. ℣ Lament, shepherds and cry out; and sprinkle yourselves with ashes'). It relates to, though does not directly quote, Old Testament texts from Joel 1:8, Jeremiah 6:25 and 22:54, and Zephaniah 1:14.[11] The words *et amara valde* also recall the *Libera me* responsory for the Office of the Dead, which includes the verse: *Dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae, dies magna et amara valde* ('That day, day of wrath, calamity and misery, a great and intensely bitter day').

Times of the Daily Office Hours have varied across geographical and temporal locations, but thirteenth-century northern European Matins would, in most places, have occurred circa 2 a.m., and Lauds circa 4:30 a.m. Later in the Middle Ages the Night Office was moved back to the late afternoon/early evening on the day before the day named in the liturgical calendar, so Holy Saturday Matins and Lauds, for

[10] Although primarily used on Holy Saturday, the *Plange quasi virgo* was also sometimes sung at Maundy Thursday Mass while a piece of the True Cross, consecrated to be used on Friday and Easter Sunday, was carried in procession to be 'buried' in a small model sepulchre. This further strengthens the associations between the *Plange quasi virgo* chant and the Passiontide motifs of Crucifixion, death, and burial. See Harper 1991, 144; Tyrer 1932, 105–7; Young 1933, 1:125.

[11] Joel 1:8: 'Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth' (*Plange quasi virgo accincta sacco super virum pubertatis suae*); Jeremiah 6:26: 'Gird thee with sackcloth, O daughter of my people, and sprinkle thee with ashes: make thee mourning as for an only son, a bitter lamentation, because the destroyer shall suddenly come upon us' (*Filia populi mei accingere cilicio et conspergere cinere luctum unigeniti fac tibi planctum amarum quia repente veniet vastator super nos*); Jeremiah 25:34: 'Howl, ye shepherds, and cry: and sprinkle yourselves with ashes, ye leaders of the flock' (*Ululate pastores et clamate et aspergite vos cinere optimates gregis*); and Zephaniah 1:14: 'The great day of the Lord is near, it is near and exceeding swift: the voice of the day of the Lord is bitter, the mighty man shall there meet with tribulation' (*Iuxta est dies Domini magnus iuxta et velox nimis vox diei Domini amara tribulabitur ibi fortis*). All Bible quotations are from the Vulgate, with English translations from the Douay-Rheims version.

example, would take place as sunlight faded on Friday afternoon/evening.[12] The Easter Triduum of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, marking the betrayal, trial, Crucifixion, and death of Christ, are the spiritually darkest days of the liturgical year. Reflecting their physical and spiritual associations with darkness, Matins and Lauds during the Triduum are known collectively as Tenebrae (shadows), and their liturgies, rites, and readings are appropriately rich in references to light and dark.[13]

By the thirteenth century, the form and content of Tenebrae liturgies was largely similar across Europe.[14] Matins consisted of three Nocturns, each of which included: three Psalms with their antiphons; a versicle and responsory; three lessons, each followed by the refrain *Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum* ('Jerusalem, return to the Lord your God'); and a responsory. Matins ended with a silent *Pater noster*. Precise lesson contents varied from place to place, but the first Nocturn's readings would draw on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.[15] Lauds usually contained: three Psalms; a canticle; Psalm 148; the Benedictus; a silent *Pater noster*; the *preces*; the *Miserere*, which was repeated; the collect *Respice, quaesumus, Domine* ('Look with favour, we beseech thee, O Lord'); and the *strepitus* – a loud noise often created by banging wooden objects, to signify mourning and the earthquake that occurred at Christ's death. Tenebrae's natural thematic connection with the Office of the Dead was strengthened by both liturgies excluding certain standard elements: the *Deus in adiutorium*, introductory versicles, an invitatory Psalm, the *Venite*, a hymn, the Gloria Patri, the blessing before and after the lessons, and the Kyrie, were all absent from Matins, and Tenebrae Lauds excluded the versicles, the Gloria Patri, the hymn, and the *Memoriae*. Tenebrae did not include the Little Office for the Virgin or the Marian antiphons.

[12] In 1955 Pope Pius XII returned Matins/Lauds to the middle of the liturgically assigned night. On varying Tenebrae Office times, see MacGregor 1992, 31–3 and 124–32; Young 1933, 1:74.

[13] The first extant use of the word 'Tenebrae' being applied to the Triduum Matins and Lauds is from Peter Abelard in the twelfth century: 'And so for this reason the night office of these days is called Tenebrae'. Abelard, Letter 1Q (PL 178.340A), cited and trans. in MacGregor 1992, 24, n. 1. The tradition of the Triduum leading to Easter Day was established by the fourth century CE. The basis of the Night Offices of Matins and Lauds for the Triduum date from the sixth century and the earliest liturgical texts that describe a solemnized form of these liturgies are from the eighth century.

[14] For the history and contents of Holy Week, Triduum, and Tenebrae liturgy – especially in the European Middle Ages – see Hardison 1965, esp. 117 and 140–70; Harper 1991, 141–9; Hughes 1995, 245–67; MacGregor 1992; Monti 1993; Monti 2012, 357–403; Tyrer 1932; Young 1933, esp. 1:496–512.

[15] The exact verse varied across time and place. The earliest extant Lamentations exegesis is by Gregory the Great, and the most popular of a rich tradition of medieval interpretations of Lamentations was a twelfth-century *Glossa ordinaria* version by Gilbertus Universalis. The 'speaker' in Lamentations was interpreted in the Middle Ages as being, variously, the prophet Jeremiah, the City of Jerusalem, the Church, Christ, or Mary, regarding her witnessing the suffering and death of Christ. For Gilbertus Universalis's version, see Andreé 2005. For other Lamentations interpretations, see, for example, Radbertus, Hugh of Saint Victor, Rupert of Deutz, Bonaventure, Aquinas, and Denys the Carthusian.

Tenebrae rites incorporated the gradual extinguishing of all light in the church, including special Tenebrae candles set up on a triangular/pyramid-shaped hearse.[16] Because Matins and Lauds took place either during the night or, as became more common later in the Middle Ages, during dusk, this rite meant that the church would be in total darkness by the end of Lauds, symbolizing both the spiritual darkness of Passiontide and the literal loss of light that occurred, according to the Synoptic Gospels, at the time of the Crucifixion.[17] The Benedictus, used in Lauds, ends with the words from Zachariah's prophecy of his son John's role: *Illuminare his, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent* ('To enlighten them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death').[18] Enhancing Tenebrae's light/dark symbolism, the last candle was extinguished during this final Benedictus verse, or sometimes kept alight but hidden behind the altar, the single remaining flame representing Christ, or the apostles, the Holy Spirit, the prophets, or Mary. In the case of the Marian interpretation, the final candle symbolized the tradition that the Virgin alone had a steadfast faith, believing in the Resurrection and keeping the Church alive while Christ was in the tomb. Durandus, the thirteenth-century liturgical writer and Bishop of Mendes, writes that the last candle 'primarily signifies the faith which remained in the Virgin alone' (*significat primo fidem quae in sola Virgine remansit*).[19]

The darkness reached by the end of Tenebrae was symbolically undone by the re-introduction of light at the New Fire rite and the Easter Vigil.[20] The kindling of the New Fire, which took place on Thursday, and sometimes on Friday and Saturday too, involved standing outside the church or in the porch, using a flint, or

[16] The tradition seems to have originated in the Gallican Church and become standard practice in the Roman Church by the twelfth century. The number of candles varied according to time and place. For details of the traditions of the Tenebrae hearse and the extinguishing of the candles, see MacGregor 1992, 67–89 and 90–115, respectively.

[17] For example, Amalarius of Metz (d. 850) writes: 'That the lights of the church are extinguished on these nights seems to me to be in commemoration of the Sun of Justice Himself, who is buried for three days and three nights' (trans. in Monti 1993, 79). Amalarius also writes: 'By the present extinction is designated the extinction of joy... [when] the creator and producer of light would cover himself with darkness in the tomb' (trans. in MacGregor 1992, 245). Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) writes that the extinguishing of the candles signified that 'Christ having been crucified, there was darkness over the land from the sixth hour to the ninth hour' (cited in Monti 2012, 359–60).

[18] Luke 1:79a.

[19] Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 6:72 (Lyon, 1562), 331, trans. in Denny 1969, 229, n. 74. Durandus explains that Mary's faith during Holy Saturday is the reason why all Saturdays came to be dedicated to her.

[20] Monti 2012, 459, cites evidence of the Easter Vigil being kept as early as the second century. In the Early Church, the Easter Vigil was an overnight event ending at dawn on Easter Sunday. By the Middle Ages, with earlier Matins and Lauds times, the Vigil was taking place earlier during Saturday, but authorities tried to ensure that the Vigil – or at least its Mass – did not start until at least nightfall, which would have helped to retain the drama of the New Fire ceremony and the lighting of the Paschal Candle. See Monti 2012, 466–7. For historical detail of New Fire and Easter Vigil liturgies, see Freeman 1945; Hughes 1995, 263–8; MacGregor 1992, Parts 2, 3, and 4; Monti 1993, 323–76; Tyrer 1932, 143–74.

a crystal and the sun, to kindle a flame that was reserved for the Easter Vigil.[21] At the beginning of the Easter Vigil, the Paschal candle would be lit from the New Fire and carried in procession through the church to the altar, while the *Lumen Christi* was intoned three times.[22] With the candle at the altar, the ceremony reached a climax in the *Exultet*, celebrating Christ's victory over death and the triumph of light over darkness. The *Exultet* included the words:

> may [this candle] … destroy the darkness of this night … may it mingle with the lights of Heaven. May the morning star find its flames – he, I say, the morning star, who knows no setting; he, who having returned from the dead has shone bright upon mankind.[23]

Since at least the fourth century, the Exultet had contained a long, Virgilian 'Eulogy of the bees', which equated the Virgin Mary with the bees that made the wax of the Paschal candle: 'O truly happy and marvelous bee … productive and yet chaste; it is thus that Mary, saintly above all creatures, conceived.'[24] With the church now lit, there were readings from the Prophets, prayers, the blessing of the font, and the plunging of the Paschal candle into the baptismal waters. Baptisms would take place, with baptismal candles lit from the Paschal candle, and the first Mass of Easter was celebrated.[25]

## THE ASSUMPTION, LIGHT, AND DARKNESS IN **MO** 304'S UPPER-VOICE TEXTS AND THE *PLANGE QUASI VIRGO* CHANT

As well as explicitly describing the Assumption – the triplum singing *te assumpsit in choris celestibus* and the motetus *que assumpta es in celis* – the upper voices of **Mo** 304 cite and allude to Assumption liturgy chant texts.[26] The triplum's opening phrase, *Alma virgo virginum*, is taken from a Matins benediction and Lauds antiphon from a Parisian Little Office of the Virgin,[27] and it is also reminiscent of

[21] On the kindling of the New Fire, see Freeman 1945, 195; Harper 1991, 147; Monti 2012, 462–3; Tyrer 1932, 148–50.

[22] The lighting of the Paschal candle from the New Fire dates from the fourth century and appears in papal liturgies from the twelfth century. See Monti 2012, 459–60.

[23] Trans. in Monti 2012, 483. The *Exultet* is attributed to Ambrose.

[24] Trans. in Freeman 1945, 198. Bees were thought to reproduce asexually from the dead bodies of other animals; hence their production of wax was compared to Mary's virginal bearing of Christ. The beeswax of the Paschal candle represented Christ's immaculately created body, and its wick and flame represented his divinity contained within this body. On the significance of bees and their Marian symbolism regarding the Paschal candle, see Duchesne 1889, 242–5; Taylor 2013, 233–4. The relevance of the praise of bees to the Easter Vigil was disputed from Jerome onwards, and from the tenth century the passage was often reduced. The full version was uncommon by the thirteenth century. See Kelly 1996, 64–9; MacGregor 1992, 385.

[25] Freeman 1945, 196.

[26] I am grateful to Lisa Colton for her helpful discussion and suggestions regarding **Mo** 304's Assumption theme.

[27] BnF lat. 10482, fols 306r–307v. See Baltzer 2000a, 469–76.

the Matins responsory for the Assumption, *Hodie virgo virginum*.[28] The motetus's question – 'Who is this woman who has ascended? She surpasses every light, is brighter than the sun, she is beautiful and lovely, she dazzles like the dawn, more dazzling than any light' (*Que est ista, que ascendit? Omne lumen hec transcendit sole splendidior; hec est pulcra et decora, que clarescit ut aurora omni luce clarior*) – relates to an Assumption liturgy chant text that cites Song of Songs 6:9. The chant reads: *Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata?* ('Who is this that cometh up like the rising dawn, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army set in array?').[29] The motetus's references to the sun and moon also bring to mind Revelation 12: 'A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars … brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with an iron rod.'[30] According to medieval exegetes, the sun and moon in Revelation 12 refer to Mary's Assumption and subsequent glorious position in heaven, and to her role in spiritually illuminating humankind. Twelve being a number symbolizing perfection, the crown of twelve stars refers to her perfect virginity, to the twelve tribes of Israel from which she was descended, and to the heavenly city and its inhabitants, which, as representative of the Church, she embodied.[31]

So, at face value, **Mo** 304's upper voices position the motet firmly in an Assumption context, and their relevance to the *Plange quasi virgo*'s Passiontide associations is not immediately apparent. However, the rich light-themed imagery that the upper voices use to describe the Assumption assumes a deeper meaning when juxtaposed with the tenor's association with the physical and spiritual darkness of Tenebrae, the ritual extinguishing of candles, the kindling of the New Fire, the Paschal candle, with its Marian Eulogy of the Bees, and the baptismal candles of the Easter Vigil. If **Mo** 304's tenor implies a Passiontide context, the motetus's comparisons of Mary with the light from heavenly bodies take on new relevance, positioning her as the antithesis of the midday darkness that marked the Crucifixion and associating her with the sun's rays used to kindle the New Fire on Easter Saturday. Focusing on Mary as the bearer of the light that will overcome spiritual darkness, the triplum and motetus look beyond the tenor's present suffering to future heavenly joys.

[28] Cantus ID CAO 6867.

[29] Cantus ID CAO 4425. Song of Songs 6:9 reads: 'Who is she that cometh forth as the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army set in array?' (*Quae est ista quae progreditur quasi aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol terribilis ut acies ordinata?*). This verse was understood by medieval exegetes as a prefiguration of the Assumption. Bernard of Clairvaux's interpretation, for example, is discussed in Warner 2013, 132. On the use of Song of Songs in Assumption liturgy, see Fulton 1998. On the Song of Songs and Marian liturgy in the context of motets, see Huot 1997, 86–90.

[30] *Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus eius et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim … et peperit filium masculum qui recturus erit omnes gentes in virga ferrea* (Revelation 12:1b and 5a).

[31] The woman of Revelation 12 has been associated with Mary and her Assumption since at least the sixth century (Warner 2013, 96). On number symbolism in the Middle Ages, see, for example, Butler 1970 and Hopper 1938. On biblical glosses in medieval Christianity, see Minnis and Scott 1988 and Smalley 1964.

The triplum calls Mary 'true sun of justice' (*Verus sol iusticie*), referring to Malachi 4:2: 'But unto you that fear my name, the sun of justice shall arise, and health in his wings'. Christian tradition has commonly applied the epithet 'sun of justice' to Christ, reading it as a prophecy of Christ's birth and using it in liturgies for Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany. But, as was often the case with Christological epithets during the medieval heights of the Cult of the Virgin, the title 'sun of justice' was readily transferred to Mary.[32] The triplum also describes Mary with the words 'true light of the blind' (*vera lux cecorum*). As the symbol, or 'type' of the Church, the Virgin Mary represented *Ecclesia*, the new, faithful, spiritually observant bride, who replaced and enlightened the faithless, spiritually blind Jews, represented as the allegorical bride *Synagogua*, depicted by the medieval Church as a woman wearing a blindfold.[33] Holy Week was particularly connected with the conversion of Jews, as reflected in popular medieval interpretations of the *Jerusalem, convertere* refrain that followed each Holy Saturday Matins lesson.[34] So the triplum's description of Mary as *vera lux cecorum*, and its associations with Mary/*Ecclesia* being a light to the blind *Synagogua*, was especially pertinent at Passiontide and thus resonates with the tenor's potential connection to Holy Saturday.

## MARY AND THE CROSS IN **MO** 304'S UPPER-VOICE TEXTS, AND THE *PLANGE QUASI VIRGO* CHANT

The triplum's words *que sola digna es portare Christum, regem omnium* further link the upper voices' Assumption theme with the *Plange quasi virgo*'s Passiontide associations, by invoking two inter-related Alleluias: *Dulcis virgo*, used for the Assumption, and *Dulce lignum*, used for Feasts of the Holy Cross.[35] The triplum's words relate most closely to the *Dulcis virgo* Alleluia, which presents an image of Mary pregnant with Christ: *Alleluia. Dulcis virgo, dulcis mater, dulcia ferens pondera,* ***que sola*** *fuisti* ***digna portare*** *regem celorum et Dominum* ('Alleluia. Sweet virgin, sweet mother, bearing the sweet weight, **you alone** were **worthy of carrying** the Lord, King of heaven'). The version of the Alleluia that was used for the Feasts of the Invention of the Holy Cross celebrated on 3 May, and the Exultation of the Holy Cross celebrated on 14 September, uses the same melody and very similar, clearly related words: *Alleluia. Dulce lignum, dulces claves, dulcia ferens pondera, que*

[32] **Mo**, for example, has Mary as the 'sun of justice' in **Mo** 4,52, 8,304, and 8,343, and applies the epithet to Christ in **Mo** 4,59, 7,289/8,338, and 8,315. **Mo** 7,275, 7,289/8,338, and 8,332 use the tenor *SOLEM*, discussed in this volume in the chapters by Anna Kathryn Grau and Margaret Dobby. On Christological, Mariological, and Johannine associations with the 'sun of justice' epithet in medieval theology and motets, see Anderson 2008, 110, 130–1, and 147.

[33] On medieval images of *Synagogua* and *Ecclesia*, see Nina Rowe 2001.

[34] Kendrick 2014, 61.

[35] On the theological and cultural associations of these chants, their liturgical contexts, and the use of this chant melody as motet tenor, see Dillon 2012b, 320–7; Huot 1997, 129–37; Pesce 1997.

*sola fuisti digna sustinere regem celorum et Dominum* ('Alleluia. Sweet wood, sweet nails, bearing the sweet weight, you alone were worthy of bearing the Lord, King of Heaven'). Some sources replace the word *sustinere* in the Holy Cross version with *portare*, and the phrase *que sola fuisti digna portare* appears in spoken parts of the Holy Cross liturgies. The identical melodies and related texts of the two Alleluias *Dulcis virgo* and *Dulce lignum* clearly point to one being a deliberate contrafactum of the other.[36] That the creator of the contrafactum thought it appropriate for these two chants to have identical melodies and closely related texts presumably relates to the fact that the subject matters of the two chants – the Virgin Mary bearing Christ and suffering by the Cross, and the Holy Cross bearing Christ's body – were intrinsically linked. Medieval literary and artistic works, as well as liturgical connections, attest to the close association of Mary with the Cross.[37]

Biblical evidence for the Virgin's presence at the Crucifixion is limited to John 19:25a, which says simply: 'Now there stood by the Cross of Jesus, his mother …'. There is no suggestion as to if, or how, the Virgin showed physical signs of her distress, and for the first millennium of Christianity, images of the Crucifixion depict her as an upright, restrained, and steadfast witness. But by the tenth century the Eastern Church included the *Kontakion* – Mary's imagined Lament at the Foot of the Cross – in its Good Friday liturgy; and by the thirteenth century, the image of the *mater dolorosa* and Mary's swoon by the Cross was becoming popular in western Europe as part of the flourishing Cult of the Virgin. *Planctus Mariae* (Western versions of the *Kontakion*) were performed on Good Friday in Passion plays inside and outside church;[38] visual images of the Virgin's swoon, and the *pietà*, in which Mary holds the body of the dead Christ, became popular; and scripture relating to suffering was associated with Mary's experience at the Cross.[39]

Medieval theologians believed that the Virgin was immune to physical distress at the birth of Christ, but instead suffered pain in her soul at Calvary, as she laboured with Christ to give birth to humanity's salvation.[40] Simeon's prophecy

[36] Pesce suggests that, because the Cross is by far the most common version, it is most likely the original version, and the Marian version is the contrafactum. See Pesce 1997, 47, n. 31.

[37] On Mary's role at the Crucifixion, her relationship with the Cross, and its representation in medieval art, literature, and liturgy, see, for example, Ellington 1995; Fulton 2002, 200–14; Neff 1998; Pelikan 1996, 125–36; Rubin 2009, 243–55; Warner 2013, 209–27. On the relevance of this to motets, see, for example, Dillon 2012b, 320–7; Huot 1997, 129–37; Pesce 1997; Rothenberg 2011, 193–240.

[38] The *Planctus Mariae* was popularized by Bernard of Clairvaux, among others, and the best-known version is the thirteenth-century *Stabat mater* attributed to Jacopone de Todi. On the development of *Planctus Mariae* and on their use in Passion plays, see, for example, Sticca 1988, 118–47; Young 1933, 1:492–539.

[39] Mary was especially associated with Lamentations 1:12a, 'O all ye that pass by the way, attend, and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow' (*O vos omnes qui transitis per viam adtendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*), often used for the third Nocturn of Holy Saturday Matins. Kendrick 2014, 40; Martinez 2003, 3.

[40] Neff 1998, gives examples of this concept in medieval writings, including Bonaventure, Rupert of Deutz, Amadeus of Lausanne, and, on p. 268, the thirteenth-century English lyric *Stond wel, moder, under rode*, in which Christ on the Cross says

that Mary's soul would be pierced by a sword (Luke 2:35) was linked to the pain of love mentioned in Song of Songs 2:5 and interpreted as referring to her suffering at the Crucifixion.[41] The Virgin was also compared to, and paralleled with, the Cross: both physically carried/bore (*portare/sustinere*) Christ, and both are figures of salvation through suffering.[42] The strength and significance of the association between Mary and the Cross make it easy to understand why medieval liturgists saw fit to link the texts and melodies of the Marian Alleluia *Dulce virgo* and the Holy Cross Alleluia *Dulce lignum*.

The melisma on the words *portare/sustinere* from the two Alleluias was a popular motet tenor.[43] The majority of motets that use this tenor have a Crucifixion theme in their upper parts, while some have a Marian/Assumption theme. In some cases, Crucifixion and Assumption themes are combined, perhaps implying that composers were familiar with both versions of the chant and wished to exploit the melisma's diverse liturgical associations.[44] **Mo** 304's trope on the Alleluia texts can be interpreted as functioning in this way. If **Mo** 304's tenor brings to mind the *Plange quasi virgo*, which, despite not being drawn from Marian liturgy, has implicit Marian associations via its Passiontide reference to a lamenting virgin, then the triplum's trope on a melisma that references both the Crucifixion and the Assumption becomes especially significant. The triplum's words *que sola digna es portare Christum, regem omnium* imbue the motet with the complex web of imagery associated with the two Alleluia chants, celebrating the Assumption, while simultaneously mirroring the tenor's Tenebrae despair through its associations with Holy Cross liturgy and Mary's suffering at Calvary.

The combination of voices in **Mo** 304 also draws together popular images of Mary's maternal role. Through allusion to the *Dulcis virgo* text, which depicts Mary as pregnant, describing her as 'bearing the sweet weight … worthy of carrying the Lord', the triplum's Alleluia trope refers to Mary's role as *mater Dei*. The Alleluia trope also, together with the tenor's apparent *Plange quasi virgo* associations,

to his mother: 'Mother, now at last you must learn what pain they suffer who bear children'.

[41] Fulton 2002, 199 and 304.

[42] The concept of the Cross itself having suffered, even giving voice to its own experience at the Crucifixion, is best known from the circa eighth-century Old English poem the *Dream of the Rood*, but examples also appear in later medieval writings, often in the form of debate poems, voiced by Mary and the Cross. See Fein 1998; Yeager 1981. For example, in the English text *Disputacio inter Mariam et Crucem secundum Apocrafum* (c.1390), the Cross says, that having felt the nails at the Crucifixion, it will accuse mankind at the Last Judgment (Fein 1998, 95). On the parallel between the Cross and the Virgin, see also Huot 1997, 130.

[43] This tenor features in sixteen motets in **Mo** (labelled *PORTARE* in fourteen and *SUSISTINERE* in two). See Pesce 1997, 39–40. **Mo** 304 is immediately followed by *Mout ai longuement /Li dous maus /PORTARE*, **Mo** 8,305).

[44] Some *PORTARE/SUSTINERE* motets use vernacular, secular upper-voice texts wherein pastoral love and heartache can be understood as an allegorical representation of spiritual love and suffering, and the stock characters of Robin and Marion can stand for Christ and Mary. This is the case, for example, in **Mo** 3,41, discussed in Huot 1997, 133–7, and Pesce 1986; and in **Mo** 7,265, examined by Pesce 1997. See also Chapter 13 in this volume by Pesce.

evokes the Crucifixion and Mary's intense human suffering as *mater dolorosa*. And the upper voices present her as the merciful intercessor *mater misericordie*, who became mother to all Christians when she laboured at the foot of the Cross.

In her article 'Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors?' Rebecca A. Baltzer explains that the seemingly peculiar creation of Marian motets on non-Marian tenors was a deliberate strategy on the part of the Notre-Dame clergy to permeate the liturgy of the entire year with references to the Virgin.[45] The enormous emphasis on Mary during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries means that she, and her various roles in the story of salvation, were all-pervading. It should therefore come as no surprise when her presence infiltrates ostensibly non-Marian liturgies, rites, chants, and motets – especially those connected with days that would otherwise lack any explicitly Marian focus, as was the case with Tenebrae. The Little Office of the Virgin was not celebrated during Tenebrae, and festivals falling within the Triduum – including the Annunciation on 25 March, when it coincided with Holy Week – were omitted or transferred to a post-Easter date.[46] If **Mo** 304 was intended for use at the Easter Vigil, it constitutes an example of clerical enthusiasm for including Marian content in contexts that were otherwise unusually devoid of reference to the Virgin.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, given the correspondence noted by Anderson between **Mo** 304's tenor and the Holy Saturday *Plange quasi virgo* responsory, it would seem reasonable to suggest that, for a medieval singer/listener, this tenor could have alluded to the *Plange quasi virgo* – especially if the motet was performed shortly after the chant's liturgical use. This would have underpinned the motet with themes of Passiontide, Crucifixion, and darkness that seem quite at odds with the celebratory, Assumption-themed upper voices. Hence a question mark hangs over the identification of **Mo** 304's tenor and the motet's meaning and original performance context. However, a consideration of the liturgical, ritual, exegetical, and biblical associations of the *Plange quasi virgo* chant and the motet's upper voice texts demonstrates that the unusual combination of non-Marian Passiontide themes and Marian Assumption themes is more explicable than might at first appear to be the case.

The *Plange quasi virgo* chant depicts a lamenting virgin in a Passiontide context, and thus easily absorbs Marian connotations. If **Mo** 304 was used at the Easter Vigil, reference to Passiontide was still relevant, and only hours had passed since the liturgical use of the *Plange quasi virgo* chant. But the light-themed imagery of the motet's joyful upper voices resonates with Holy Saturday's New Fire rite and the Easter Vigil's Paschal and baptismal candles, providing an uplifting contrast to the tenor's motif of Tenebrae darkness. **Mo** 304 uses the figure of Mary – the grieving mother and symbol of sorrow who is ultimately transformed into the Queen of Heaven and symbol of triumphant joy – to provide reassurance that the

[45] Baltzer 2007.

[46] Tyrer 1932, 72.

suffering evoked by the tenor is not the ultimate end point of the Christian story; that light and new life will ultimately supersede the *Plange quasi virgo*'s themes of darkness and death. At the same time, the triplum contains tropes on an Alleluia that is relevant to both the Assumption and the Holy Cross, alluding to Mary's suffering at Calvary, and thus forging a link with the *Plange quasi virgo*'s Crucifixion associations. The combination of these factors reinforces the tenor's link with the *Plange quasi virgo* chant, and supports the possibility of both Assumption and Holy Saturday – in particular Easter Vigil – contexts for **Mo** 304.

CHAPTER 16

# A Performance and Reception History of *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE*

EDWARD BREEN

Montpellier 8's motet *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* (**Mo** 8,319, fols 368v–369v) is an intriguing polytextual work with an equally intriguing performance history. It has caught the imagination of many musicians who have explored the various performance possibilities suggested by the text.

The written personal communication of Thurston Dart offers a unique opportunity to understand how his performance of this particular motet was planned and executed in the late 1960s. It also suggests ways in which his opinion influenced some of the first performances to be recorded. 'Make the music sound robust now and again' was Dart's advice to Michael Morrow and his ensemble Musica Reservata. Little did Dart know just quite how literally these young musicians would take him at his word. For Musica Reservata, *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* required an almost military approach to rhythmic drive, resulting in a highly organized market-traders' cacophony, whereas in Dart's own conception this street scene unfolded across the newly available stereophonic soundscape of late 1960s LP technology. As Emma Dillon explains, the attraction of *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* is that it 'offers us a rare instance where the city itself is the topic of the motet'.[1] Through this urban prism Dart (re)constructed a vision of medieval Paris which made sense in his modern world, and subsequent performances reacted to his historical imagination.

This paper explores the first four recordings of this evocative motet, with particular emphasis on the circumstances surrounding Dart's much-delayed album, and probes the musicological climate behind each. With reference to the influential work of Yvonne Rokseth, it asks how much these performances say about the changing twentieth-century sense of the medieval and what they suggest about the changing musicological approaches to the famous Montpellier codex itself.

Central to understanding these performances is the tenor voice whose melody and words appear to preserve a street cry:

*Frese nouvele! Muere france! Muere! Muere france!*

Fresh strawberries! Ripe and French![2]

[1] Dillon 2012b, 87. A discography and a compiled list of the primary sources referenced here are appended to this chapter.

[2] Translation from Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris Im 13. Jahrhundert*; English text available on Fontana SFL 14133 (1967). This

Such is the musicological temptation to seek the evanescent traces of folk practice in secular motet voices that performers have been tempted to approach this motet as an orchestrated song collected from the street: the 'Jesus' Blood' of its day, if you will.[3] Yet might this tenor voice parody, rather than preserve, a well-known cry or cries of its day by making humorous the fruit vendor whose singing is steady enough to create a motet tenor? Such nuances are of course impossible to recover, but performers and audiences alike have long derived intellectual stimulation and enjoyment from the various interpretations of this popular motet.

The motet appears as item 319 in Yvonne Rokseth's 1936 edition.[4] Her commentary (*Remarques*) acknowledges two previous considerations of the motet by Harry Ellis Wooldridge (1901) and Heinrich Besseler (1926–7).[5] Besseler is evidently confident about a street-song connection in the tenor when he states that the upper voices have 'a motet-like market scene from the first half of the fourteenth century' (*in den Oberstimmen einer motettenartigen Marktszene aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*)[6] and it is this point which Rokseth approaches in her *Remarques*. She finds the street-cry theory questionable. According to her, the tenor likely preserves two separate cries joined together, one for each fruit. Yet she found no evidence of comparable cries recorded in the thirteenth-century *Crieries de Paris*.[7] Furthermore, she offered no specific performance suggestions for the motet.

The first four commercial recordings of this motet all post-date Rokseth's transcription (see Table 16.1); spanning between them a quarter-century, they are each notably different in performance styles. Yet there are factors which unite these performances, for each ensemble considered here is associated with the influence of Thurston Dart.

## YVONNE ROKSETH MEMORIAL ALBUM

The earliest recorded performance of this motet is from the 1950 Yvonne Rokseth memorial album.[8] There are no sleeve notes and few details on the label, but by association with L'Oiseau-Lyre it is most likely that Rokseth's edition was used. A letter from Thurston Dart to Louise Dyer, the Australian music publisher and patron who founded *Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre* in 1932, discusses the booking of trombone players for his own recording of Notre-Dame repertoire some seven or eight years later. In this letter, Dart mentions that 'MM. Suzan, Boutry,

author, possibly Dart himself, appears to have simplified the text, since *Muere* are 'blackberries', hence it is usually translated: 'Fresh strawberries! Nice blackberries!'

[3] See Gavin Bryars, 'Jesus Blood Never Failed Me Yet', http://www.gavinbryars.com/Pages/jesus_blood_never_failed_m.html (accessed 12 September 2017).

[4] Rokseth 1935–9, 2:221–2.

[5] Besseler 1926–7, 168; Wooldridge 1901, 382–3.

[6] Besseler 1926–7, 168.

[7] Guillaume de la Villeneuve, *Les Crieries de Paris*, BnF fr. 837, fol. 246r.

[8] A set of six 78 rpm discs which are available online on *Gallica* via the Bibliothèque nationale de France: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1274406/f8.item.r=.langEN (accessed 13 September 2017).

Table 16.1 First recordings of *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* (**Mo** 8,319)

| *Performers* | *Instrumentation* |
|---|---|
| Polyphonies du XIII[e] Siècle Yvonne Rokseth memorial album. 1950?* | Ensemble [3 male voices, cor anglais] |
| Various, directed by Thurston Dart 1961/1967** | 3 tenors (the singers on this album are Raymond Bonté, Jacques Husson, Jean-Jacques Lesueur, and André Danjou) |
| Musica Reservata 1968† | 2 tenors & baritone (Nigel Rogers, Edgar Fleet, Geoffrey Shaw), percussion (+ reed?) |
| Early Music Consort of London 1976†† | 2 countertenors & baritone (James Bowman, Charles Brett, Geoffrey Shaw), percussion |

* Vocal & instrumental ensemble, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle* (L'Oiseau-Lyre (France) OL 230/235, [78 rpm × 6], 1950?).

** Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert* (Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967).

† Musica Reservata, *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century* (Delysé DS 3201 [LP, stereo, UK], 1968).

†† David Munrow and the Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Gothic Era* (Hamburg: Archiv Produktion, Polydor International GmbH DG Archiv 2723 045, 1976).

Callot were used by Mme de Chambure',[9] presumably a reference to the previous 1950 L'Oiseau-Lyre recording, indicating that its director was the French musicologist Geneviève, comtesse Hubert de Chambure Thibault (1902–75); the three men mentioned were brass players.[10]

It is not entirely surprising, given the memorial nature of the six-disc set, that this recording is the only one of the four to present the three voices as they appear in Rokseth's transcription: they enter simultaneously and sing together throughout. The performance is also typical of mid-century anthology projects in that it conforms to the prevailing chamber-music aesthetic of its time: the voices sing with a prominent vibrato, use small *portamenti*, and close with a generous *rallentando*. Of the four, this performance is the slowest, the crotchet beat (breve) of Rokseth's transcription reaching 118 at its fastest. One might usefully refer to the Oxford 'History of Music in Sound' to hear other examples of medieval music performed

[9] Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 22 September 1957, MS/Dart/2/23, Thurston Dart Archive, Cambridge University Library (henceforth, TDA).

[10] This brass trio also appears on a disc of fifteenth-century music (Musique d'autrefois. Volume I: Musique du XVe Siècle de France et d'Italie. *Le Chant du Monde* LDX 8180/81 [LP×2]) alongside other artists known to have recorded for L'Oiseau-Lyre, such as the director Yvonne Gouverné. It is possible that the performers on this Yvonne Rokseth memorial album are drawn from similar forces. For details of Musique d'autrefois, see http://www.recorderhomepage.net/databases/Recordingsview.php?showdetail=&records_id=6685 (accessed 12 September 2017).

with a similar mid-century chamber-music approach.[11] As the existence of this 78 rpm production attests, Louise Dyer was extremely proud of her *Polyphonies* editions: the limited-edition volumes were bound in Australian blackwood and she resisted selling them to private collectors on the understanding that they should be available foremost to university libraries and other academic collections.[12] They were not inexpensive, and Thurston Dart, newly appointed at the University of Cambridge, found that he could not afford the necessary £32 to purchase his own set in 1948.[13] A letter to Louise Dyer explaining his situation is among his earliest correspondence to her and it contains an interesting postscript:

> Of course I realize that the production of the whole series must have involved an enormous expense. One is tempted perhaps to wonder whether the facsimile volume might not have been dispensed with? I have just had to purchase Beck's Manuscrit du Roi volumes (which now cost £6.17.6) and I should have been far more pleased with my trophy, obtained after 6 months argument with officialdom, if its first volume had been transcriptions rather than facsimiles. The artistic value of a facsimile is beyond dispute; its scholarly value with editors of the value of Beck or Mme Rokseth (whose transcriptions are unassailable) is very debatable.[14]

One might reasonably expect someone with Dart's expertise to have favoured a facsimile edition over transcription, yet his opinion of Rokseth's work appears to have been high enough to place cost considerations first. Irrespective of reliability, Dart would not have considered her transcriptions performance-ready, a point he makes clear in his book *The Interpretation of Music*, when he makes a distinction between the way he uses the terms 'transcription' and 'edition': 'A transcription should be a literal reproduction of the original source; an edition should be a transcription ready for performance.'[15]

## THURSTON DART

When planning his own recording of Notre-Dame repertoire, Dart selected music from Rokseth's editions and requested Louise Dyer to send photographs for him to 'edit'. He implied no disrespect to Rokseth by this and he wrote

[11] This set of records (HMS) was released in the 1950s by RCA Victor and HMV to accompany the textbook publication *The New Oxford History of Music*. In particular, there is similar slow, robust diaphragmatic singing on Bodley Singers and Bernard Rose, *Verbum Patris humanatur*: *Early Polyphony II* [side 1, band 1] (HMV-Gramophone HMS 17 [78 rpm] 1952).

[12] 'The limited editions could only be had on application to Monaco: Louise's rule that they should be sold only to universities and scholars could thus be upheld with remarkable consistency' (Davidson 1994, 396).

[13] Dart was 'made to wait for four years until he could afford the necessary £32' (ibid., 418).

[14] RTD [Thurston Dart] to Mrs [Louise] Dyer, 3 January 1948, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[15] Dart (1954) 1963, 27.

'I've been the whole way through your Polyphonies including reading most of Rokseth's commentary – well worth it, tho' hard going.'[16] Some performing intentions were clear for this Notre-Dame album before he even finalized the repertoire, since he planned to emulate appropriate acoustics for sacred and secular music:

> Two possibilities present themselves: (i) to make a disc entirely in the cathedral (that's to say of sacred polyphony of various kinds): (ii) to make one side in the cathedral & the other in the studio equivalent of a tavern – many of the songs are v. v. secular, & would shock (& sound bad) in a holy building to-day, tho' I don't imagine the middle ages would have cared two hoots. I incline towards (i) …[17]

Considering that Dart voiced his preference for a programme of sacred polyphony, *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* was not chosen during initial planning. Yet, even as the recording session drew to a close, the repertoire was still not rigidly fixed because Dart could not be sure how long each item would take. The resonance of the building would dictate the speed of the performance. For Dart, writing in the early 1950s this sense of space was vital:

> First of all a very careful attempt must be made to discover the acoustical surroundings in which the music was first performed. The differences between room music, 'resonant' music and open-air music are at least as marked in the Middle Ages as in the music of later times, and to perform a 'resonant' Mass in a 'dead' studio is as barbarous as to perform a chanson in a concert-hall before an audience of two or three thousand. Inescapably barbarous, perhaps: it is obviously impossible to reproduce a facsimile of a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century performance, but we must do what we can to handle the music properly if we are to understand it at all.[18]

At this early stage he also conveyed distinct views about the type of voices to be used:

> To sing a medieval or Renaissance motet in a truly authentic way a choir should presumably aim at the kind of sound produced by the choir of Dijon cathedral (some of their discs have been issued by English HMV). It would certainly seem that the individual polyphonic lines of a complex work are heard at their most distinct only when (a) all of the singers in the choir use virtually no vibrato; (b) the sound-quality of the voices approximates to the hard sinewy tone of the Dijon choir (and indeed of most French solo singers).[19]

[16] Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 22 September 1957, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Dart (1954) 1963, 153.

[19] Ibid., 51.

This 'hard sinewy tone' seems also to be linked to a loud sound, as can be seen directly related to his own Notre-Dame recording in a 1957 request for '3 high tenors, wobble-free: 3 trombones (tenors) … one organ (metal flue-pipes only; but lots of 'em, & loud)'.[20] He also mentioned tubular bells or handbells in the scale of C as a possibility. A few weeks later, as plans were coming together, Dart returned to the tenor voices, explaining that 'All the singers need to be able to sing loud & in their noses. They also need to be able to sing in tune (more difficult)'.[21] These ideas were, in fact, not newly hatched, but had already been put forward in his book *The Interpretation of Music*.[22]

When Dart reported to Louise Dyer a conversation he had had with the sound engineer Jimmy Burnett anticipating stereo sound, it is possible that loud, resonant sounds were on his mind, since the Notre-Dame disc was to be the first L'Oiseau-Lyre release in stereo.[23] Sessions were held towards the end of 1957, with singers and brass chosen by Dyer, and with Pierre Cochereau at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame's organ. Yet, just after Christmas, Dart wrote to Louise and her husband, Jeff, remarking that all had not gone smoothly:

> it was so good to see you both again, even if there were storms on the horizon concerning pressings, & a small tempest in Notre Dame … Considering all things, I think we didn't do too badly out of the recording sessions. When I get back to Cambridge next Monday, I shall write (type) two copies of a sleeve for the Notre Dame disc …[24]

At this stage it seems that a quick release of the disc was planned. In his biography of Louise Dyer, Jim Davidson reports that 'Almost a year later a full-page advertisement in *Disques* declared that Charlin and L'Oiseau-Lyre were capping their 1950[s] achievement with this release, his "first stereophonic disc of classical music entirely produced in France". But somehow the record never appeared.'[25] Possibly the recording sessions had not yielded enough usable material for a full 33 rpm disc. This is certainly suggested by a letter nearly four years later, in 1961, when Dart wrote:

> I would so much like to come and spend a little while with you in Monaco during the Easter vacation.... Might it also be a good idea to seize the opportunity of my being in France to complete the Notre Dame disc with some room-music of that time? You'll remember that this seemed to us to be the best idea – about 15' music recorded in a studio (not in Notre Dame),

[20] Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff [Louise Dyer & Jeffrey Hanson], 22 September 1957, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[21] Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 17 October 1957, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[22] See especially Dart (1954) 1963, 50.

[23] Davidson 1994, 427.

[24] Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 27 December 1957, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[25] André Charlin was a French inventor and recording engineer. He pioneered the 16 rpm record and also stereophonic recording techniques. After 1950 Louise Dyer worked exclusively with Decca engineers. Davidson 1994, 431.

> the texts to be chosen from your Rokseth edition of Polyphonies. Forces required would be about three singers & 2 or 3 players; more details later, if the notion appeals to you.[26]

Again, appropriate acoustic space appears to have been an *idée fixe* for Dart, who also used it to illustrate an argument of his in a letter to *The Times* that same year:

> For many centuries … composers have recognized that musical textures must be chosen to suit the surroundings in which the music will be performed. Parisian composers of the thirteenth century wrote one kind of sacred music for the highly resonant cathedral of Notre Dame, but an entirely different kind for the 'dead' acoustics of a private chapel.[27]

So, the disc, in 1957, was considered incomplete. It was at this stage that *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* was chosen. Dart again requested that 'Singers ought to be slightly nasal, like the ones we used for the sacred music'.[28] Tellingly, his observation that the 'main thing is to get the material into the hands of the singers, so that they don't natter about "not having time to work at it"' may reflect the problems of the earlier session. Yet, in spite of this planning, the new session was also highly problematic. It was held at the Theosophists' Hall, Paris, itself the cause of some confusion, as this letter to Louise Dyer and her husband illustrates:

> I'm only sorry that the recording session was a bit ill-starred – evidently there's a sort of jinx on my efforts to get some 13th-century music properly recorded for you, & I was very temperamental, I'm afraid. I wouldn't have minded so much if the harpist hadn't gone to the wrong place; but, you see, that meant the other items I wanted to record hadn't even been rehearsed – I ran through them (or two of them) with the singers, but there were all sorts of complexities of ensemble with the harp & celesta that I hadn't been able to touch on. Hence my despair: & I really wasn't making it up, but felt desperately vexed, after all the trouble we'd gone to (I'd been through the whole of the contents of those volumes, more than once, in order to make a good selection for you!).[29]

Dart ended by saying that the upshot was that he had 'nothing like a side' recorded at the end of the session. This suggests, again, that the original 1957 session had indeed yielded less than a full 33 rpm disc of music since they had hoped to record as much as a side at this additional session of 'room music'. By 1962 still nothing had been released and Dart suggested that the sacred music from the original 1957 session alone might be suitable for a 10″ stereo release. He explained his reasoning:

[26] Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 15 January 1961, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[27] Dart 1961.

[28] Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 15 February 1961, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[29] Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 17 April 1961, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

> The real objection to making a composite disc of the music recorded in Notre Dame and the music recorded at that ghastly illstarred session in the Theosophists Hall is the sound. The two sounds simply don't match: I've tried it and tried it, and the transition from the one to the other is for me absolutely impossible. I ought to have thought of this one before recommending that we recorded something chez les théosophists. For those who are interested in this music (a small segment of the community, I fear, but it's there) it's a matter of indifference whether the disc is 10″ or 12″. I'm thinking particularly of University Record Libraries, and the real enthusiasts for medieval music. DO take a deep gulp, & decide to issue a 10″ disc. You should see the expressions of eagerness on the faces of my pupils when I wave the disc sleeve at them & their dismay when I tell them I cannot play the music to them![30]

A 10″ disc of sacred music was at one point released as SXOL 20501, presumably before Louise Dyer died in November 1962.[31] However, the 'room music' did not lie dormant. By 1965 Dart was once again discussing this ill-fated album with Dyer's widower, Jeff Hanson:

> Next, Notre Dame. The test pressings you sent are admirable, & seem to me to have been made from actual matrices (am I right?). If so, have you considered making this disc available to special order (say, over here, from somewhere like the Cambridge Music Shop, which is v. pro your discs; or Discurio in London; or Steinitz's shop in London)? I believe that you would sell 500 copies just like that (there's none of this music in the catalogue, outside of the Oxford History of Music in Sound, and a dreadful German dishing-up). You have sleeves (in French); not worth doing new ones, since these are perfectly serviceable. Think to it, and see what you decide. Certainly my students got very excited about it, and wanted to rush out and buy copies; whereupon I had to tell them that they'd just heard the only copy in existence … whereat they were astounded.[32]

But over a year later the two men were still debating the release:

> Notre Dame: as I tried to say on the telephone, I am sure that the thing to do with this is to use the sleeves already printed for the ten inch disc (I have one here) plus the masters from which my test pressings were made, and

[30] Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 10 May 1962, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[31] No date is given for this release: Notre-Dame de Paris au XIIIe siècle, SXOL 20501. See Coover and Colvig 1964, 12.

[32] Thurston Dart to Jeff Hanson, 16 March 1965, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA. Considering the date of this letter, the 'dreadful' recording may have been Alfred Deller, The Deller Consort & Renaissance Chamber Ensemble, *Music at Notre Dame 1200–1375: Guillaume de Machaut «Notre Dame mass» & works of Perotin* (Vanguard: The Bach Guild BG-622, 1961). Although an unusual reference, the instrumentalists on this recording are German.

> make a 'limited edition' pressing of 500 copies (or whatever: you'll know how many sleeves you have) which should be distributed non-commercially, so to say. I should feel proud if you allowed me, as a token of affection for you and Louise, to pay half the costs of this; I would then take over half of the pressings and sleeves, and distribute them to various Universities and similar Institutions, either gratis or at a nominal charge. I know that I shall have a great battle with you & your conscience over this! But do sleep on it; it is not a suggestion made lightheardtedly, and it is not one that I would ever feel inclined to make again. I owe you both an immense debt, neither financial nor moral nor anything save of affection and admiration, for all that you did to advance me a little on my strange way. The Notre Dame stuff is now so much a part of my past that I do not think I could sensibly try to tinker with it now; you'll see that the sleeve is complete as it stands, like the disc itself. I would suggest that you only pressed in stereo (which was the whole object of the exercise).[33]

Dart's sentimental attachment to this project appeared to eventually override his original decision not to combine the two vastly different acoustics on one album. Sleeve notes were now rewritten to include the 'room music' session from the Theosophists' Hall in 1961, and Hanson even managed to find Dart's original recording notes from the sessions.[34] Writing to the recording manufacturers, Dart offered last-minute instructions and observations:

> Each item wants to be banded off from the next – we have plenty of room to spare on the disc, since the minutage is a little on the short side, so make good clear bands that one can use in the lecture-room, please. … the remaining items are in a studio acoustic (do not try to make this match the cathedral acoustic, for that would be impossible; these are items intended for singing in a tavern, whereas the others were for the long reverberations of Notre Dame itself) …. If it is possible to let me see the proofs of the sleeve, I'd be most grateful – this disc has been 'in the works' for a long time, and we must get it right. The delays are my fault, and I apologise.[35]

It is telling that Dart himself should have pointed out to Jeff Hanson that recording in stereo was 'the whole object of the exercise', since the 1967 LP release finally allows us to hear *On parole/A paris/FRESE NOUVELE* from the 1961 recording session. It begins like a demonstration track on a stereophonic test record. The

[33] Thurston Dart to Jeff Hanson, 8 July 1966, MS/Dart/2/23, TDA.

[34] 'My dear Bob, Being enfin sur les Ramparts I can send you the original notes for your N-D disc. I hope this will make the identification more readily possible'. Jeff Hanson to Thurston Dart, 20 December 1966, letter, with accompanying handwritten notes, stored inside the Notre-Dame LP sleeve (Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert* [Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967]), TDA.

[35] Thurston Dart to Mr Stuyt, March 5, 1967. Carbon copy stored inside the Notre Dame LP sleeve (Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert* [Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967]), TDA.

strawberry-seller sings first as he wanders from left to right. Dart explained his rationale in his LP sleeve notes:

> The tenor sings a fragment of a Paris street cry ('Fresh strawberries! Ripe and French!'); we have tried to reproduce the effect of someone strolling along the streets towards the market, selling his wares. The double sings of the splendours of Paris ('In Paris by night or by day there is good bread and good claret, good meat and good fish, good company, fine ladies' and so on); then the triple joins in with a second verse in faster rhythm, pattering and chattering its way to the end; and this miniature street scene ends with the strawberry-seller strolling on into the distance.[36]

Dart, in effect, created a staged scene from what would otherwise have been a sonic *tableau vivant*: a brief moment of street life framed by the ambling strawberry-seller who crosses from left to right then back again, neatly demonstrating the stereo arc. The sequential introduction of singers both celebrates stereophonic reproduction but also delineates the threefold text. Yet, despite Dart's own comments about voice-types in his book and also his request for 'wobble-free' tenors in a letter to Louise Dyer, the singing technique on this recording references the operatic framework of its day. At times the tenors can be so loud that Daniel Leech-Wilkinson (in referring to a track elsewhere on this disc) described them as 'self-consciously virile'.[37] However, it may be possible that such virility was fuelled by Dart's conviction that 'Broadly speaking, it is true to say that the Middle Ages liked their music and music instruments to be either very loud, or very soft.'[38]

Dart was not alone in exploring an *haut/bas* binary in music. The same year as his book was released, a key foundation for thinking about medieval music along this binary was firmly laid with the publication of Edmund Bowles's widely read paper 'Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages'.[39] In it, Bowles traced literary sources for the division of instruments into broad groupings of loud and soft, or *haut* and *bas*. This binary was to exert a considerable influence on a new ensemble in the next decade, Musica Reservata.

## MICHAEL MORROW AND MUSICA RESERVATA

In 1960, Michael Morrow founded Musica Reservata with his friends John Beckett and John Sothcott (harpsichord and recorder respectively). Their first concert was held in Fenton House, Hampstead, and they invited Thurston Dart by formal letter:

[36] Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert*, English translation available on Fontana SFL 14133.

[37] Leech-Wilkinson 2002, 85.

[38] Dart (1954) 1963, 154.

[39] Bowles 1954.

> Dear Mr Dart,
> Musica Reservata is a newly formed ensemble specializing in mediaeval music. As we thought you might be interested to come to our concert on 26th of May I enclose an invitation for yourself and anyone you may wish to bring. As the seating is rather limited I would be grateful if you would write so that seats may be reserved.[40]

Dart responded by writing directly on to the letter and sending it back:

> Thank you: I wish I could be there but it's in the middle of our examination period here, & I shall be immersed in marking. Good luck to you all (most of whom I seem to have the pleasure of knowing already), & let me know of your next concert. Make the music sound robust now and then - so often one hears it as though everyone were wearing kidgloves …

Dart's preoccupation with *haut* sounds for medieval music is immediately apparent and, given that he knew most of the performers already, this may not have been a revelation for them.

Private recordings of early Musica Reservata concerts reveal themselves to be similarly robust in tone and rhythmic drive. A key feature of their thirteenth-century style is Jeremy Montagu's strident and unyielding percussion playing.[41] However, *On parole/A paris/FRESE NOUVELE* was not programmed for their first concert, but was featured on *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century* (1967), the first commercial recording to explore Morrow's theories of various folk influences in early music singing. For this recording Morrow matched the voices with a reed instrument and a large drum struck loudly and unrelentingly. It's a very different *haut* from Dart's recording a year earlier. It is certainly robust, yet the nature of the singing is from outside a classical norm. In constructing this style Morrow drew on models from European folk traditions, particularly the Balkan countries, where he found traditions of singing loud, outdoor music with descendants of medieval instruments. He was particularly attracted to Balkan singing for its relatively vibrato-free timbre and pure-tuned fourths and fifths.[42]

A radio talk by Morrow explains the rationale for performing early music with voices outside the prevailing classical tone and suggests an interest in unfamiliar sounds: 'If, for instance, there is a description of a 13th century singer that says something to the effect that he sang very beautifully indeed, it might be irresistible

[40] Michael Morrow to Thurston Dart, 2 May 1960, Box 6, Michael Morrow (1929–1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

[41] Many recordings from the private collection of Jeremy Montagu are now available in the British Library Sound Archive. See in particular a concert containing other thirteenth-century French repertoire: Musica Reservata Orchestra, *BBC Broadcast (?). Recorded at Queen Elizabeth Hall, 15 September 1968 (?)*, 15 September 1968, 2CDR0002754.

[42] For an account of Morrow's folk-borrowing, particularly from Balkan countries, see Breen 2014, 129–86.

– but not to me – to think of Fischer Dieskau'.[43] Morrow was concerned that when we read early sources we should be careful not to relate any descriptive passages therein to our own, modern experiences. This extract illustrates that he was anxious not to accept mid-twentieth-century aesthetic taste as absolute. His example with 'beauty' might usefully applied to 'robust': what is robust to modern performance is very likely different from what was robust to thirteenth-century performance. Later on in the same talk, Morrow addresses defamiliarization head-on: 'Whatever we know or don't know about 13th century singing and, God knows, there's very little we can say for certain about it, we may be certain that it didn't sound like 20th century singing.'[44]

We can infer that Morrow was chasing a style that would be 'other' or unfamiliar to his contemporary listeners. This in itself is a medievalism and one that is particularly acute in the case of Musica Reservata recordings of medieval music. Dart's earlier performance did not seek such obvious alterity.

## DAVID MUNROW AND THE EARLY MUSIC CONSORT OF LONDON

David Munrow, the director of the Early Music Consort of London, would doubtless have known the Musica Reservata performance, since he regularly performed with Musica Reservata and had played crumhorn and shawm on other tracks on *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century*. He directed performances of this motet with his own ensemble, The Early Music Consort, that same year.[45] The first appearance of it in his papers archived at the Royal Academy of Music (London) is from October 1967 – a Monday lunchtime concert and one of his first BBC broadcasts. The motet was performed with just one singer, the tenor Robert Spencer, with two unspecified instrumentalists. For the radio announcer's script, Munrow wrote a joke about the delights of Paris:

> In the motet, the most sophisticated musical form of its age, composers tried to make the different voices as distinct as possible, usually giving them separate texts to be sung simultaneously as in the first example which has three, 'A Paris – On Parole – Frèse nouvelle'. Here the tenor, sung by Robert Spencer is apparently a street cry with 'Fresh strawberries, wild blackberries'. It is repeated while the upper parts extol the delights of Paris which do not seem to have changed much over the centuries. 'There is no life so good as being at

[43] Michael Morrow, 'The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music', c.1970, Michael Morrow (1929–1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives.

[44] Ibid.

[45] The Early Music Consort was renamed 'The Early Music Consort of London' in the early 1970s in preparation for overseas tours. 1967, the year of the first documented performance of this motet directed by Munrow, happened to be the founding year of the Early Music Consort.

ease, with good clear wine and capons, to be with good companions, and to have when one needs them fair ladies to solace us as we wish.'[46]

However, when Munrow came to record this track in 1976 for his boxed set of albums, *Music of the Gothic Era*, he used three vocalists. A baritone – Geoffrey Shaw – took the part of the street-seller; he stands still in the left-hand speaker and, after one statement of his song, a countertenor – Charles Brett – and a small tabor join in. After the first statement of Brett's part, a second countertenor – James Bowman – sings his, higher, chattering part. This trio is recorded in a generous acoustic reflecting the burble of street-chatter bouncing around the narrow streets of a crowded city rather than the dry tavern setting that Dart hoped to achieve. The tempo is brisk but the singing is unhurried and casual in character, so that the overall effect is charming rather than realistic. It ends on a well-tuned final chord that reverberates for a second or two after the singers are silenced.

This latter approach from Munrow is a noticeable departure from his performance in 1967. Of course, one could argue that in the earlier year he was constrained by the available budget for a lunchtime recital and could not afford three singers in addition to the instrumentalists used for the rest of the programme. However, there are other examples (Machaut's *Lasse! Comment Oublieray*) on *Music of the Gothic Era* that suggest that Munrow was increasingly interested in an all-vocal sound for medieval motets where text survived in all voices.[47]

## CONCLUSIONS

In this essay there have been two interlinked investigations. First, the first four recordings of *On parole/A Paris/FRESE NOUVELE* were surveyed, enabling general observations that help to characterize the variety of approaches taken in early performance practice. In 1950, the Rokseth memorial album recorded the motet straight from the page in a typical chamber music style of its time. We might reasonably assume that the purpose of this release was to catalogue the achievements of the musicologist Yvonne Rokseth, and to create a sonic library of the music that she transcribed. In 1961 Thurston Dart aimed to capture a street cry spirit by separating the vocal texture into sequential entries and by making full use of the stereo's ability to show space, as well as time. Next, Michael Morrow attempted a radical rethink of the medieval aesthetic, focusing on loud (*haut*) sounds by drawing on the outdoors style of singing that he heard on records of Balkan folk music. Finally, almost a decade later, David Munrow performed the motet with Dart's ideas of sequential entries but with a cathedral-inspired aesthetic, presumably appealing to an alternative but equally popular view of the Middle Ages.

There is also discernable a progression of ideas between these recordings that can be linked to the influence of Thurston Dart. Dart was already writing to Louise

[46] David Munrow, 'Notes for BBC Monday Concert, October 30th, 1967', DM7/1, Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music Special Collections Archive, London.

[47] David Munrow and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Gothic Era* (Archiv Produktion, Polydor International GmbH DG Archiv 2723 045, 1976).

Dyer at least a year before the first recording was released. There is no direct evidence of his involvement here apart from criticism of the disc implied by suggesting a new recording, which he referred to as 'my efforts to get some 13th-century music properly recorded for you'. In turn, he advised Morrow to make medieval music sound 'robust' and, indeed, Morrow was pursuing ideas of *haut* sounds in voices and instruments which may also reflect theories of medieval voices and their potential connection to surviving folk practices in Dart's book *The Interpretation of Music*. Dart's greatest influence may be heard on Munrow's recording, which also uses sequential voice entries but situates the motet in a countertenor-led aesthetic: chapel music, not street music. Yet both Munrow and Morrow follow Dart's advice of minimal vibrato, indicating that, under his influence, recordings of this motet may be 'robust', sung with minimal vibrato and/or with a nasal tone.

Second, a close reading of the circumstances surrounding Thurston Dart's own recording of *On parole/A paris/FRESE NOUVELE* acts as a cautionary tale to musicologists who might seek to codify musicological intent solely from recorded history. Although the extent of Dart's satisfaction with the final record cannot be discerned from the available archive evidence, correspondence surrounding the delayed release suggests that the final form of this album was not delivered as originally conceived. Clearly he was unhappy with the recording sessions; furthermore, he was frustrated with the singers. He certainly complained that they had not prepared the music sufficiently, but it would also appear that, although he desired 'wobble-free' tenors, he did not necessarily get that sound. By the time that the record was released in a full twelve-inch version, Dart referred to it as 'so much a part of my past', suggesting either that the performance ideas were outmoded or that he was no longer involved with this repertoire.

These four recordings of this single fascicle 8 motet encapsulate four very different attempts to (re)create medieval music and reflect the acoustics and vocal sounds of medieval Paris. Each recording is quite unlike another, itself a reflection of our changing views of the medieval world and its soundscapes as recorded among the pages of the Montpellier codex.

## DISCOGRAPHY

Dart, Thurston and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert* (Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967).

Munrow, David, and Early Music Consort of London, *Music of the Gothic Era* (Hamburg: Archiv Produktion, Polydor International GmbH DG Archiv 2723 045, 1976).

Musica Reservata, *French Court Music of the Thirteenth Century* (Delysé DS 3201 [LP, stereo, UK], 1968).

Vocal & instrumental ensemble, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle* [face 9], L'Oiseau-Lyre (France) OL 230/235, 1950? [78 rpm ×6]. Available on *Gallica*, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1274406/f8.item.r=.langEN (accessed 13 September 2017).

## PRIMARY SOURCES


### Thurston Dart Archive, Cambridge University Library

RTD [Thurston Dart] to Mrs [Louise] Dyer, 3 January 1948, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 22 September 1957, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 17 October 1957, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to Philomel & Jeff, 27 December 1957, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 15 January 1961, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 15 February 1961, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 17 April 1961, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to My dear Both, 10 May 1962, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to Jeff Hanson, 16 March 1965, MS/Dart/2/23.

Thurston Dart to Jeff Hanson, 8 July 1966, MS/Dart/2/23.

Jeff Hanson to Thurston Dart, 20 December 1966, letter, with accompanying handwritten notes, stored inside the LP sleeve (Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert* [Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967]).

Thurston Dart to Mr Stuyt, 5 March 1967, carbon copy stored inside the Notre-Dame LP sleeve (Thurston Dart and Vokal- und Instrumentalensemble, *Notre Dame de Paris im 13. Jahrhundert* [Philips 839 306 EGY, 1967]).

### Michael Morrow (1929–1994) & Musica Reservata, King's College London Archives

Michael Morrow to Thurston Dart, 2 May 1960, Box 6.

Michael Morrow, 'The Performance of Medieval and Renaissance Music', c.1970.

### Papers of David Munrow, Royal Academy of Music, London, Special Collections Archive

David Munrow, 'Notes for BBC Monday Concert, October 30th, 1967', DM7/1, Papers of David Munrow.

# Bibliography


Amiet, Robert. 1982. 'Manuscrits liturgiques des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles acquis par la Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble entre 1902 et 1978'. *Scriptorium* 36, 111–17.

Anderson, Gordon A. 1969. 'Newly Identified Clausula-Motets in the Las Huelgas Manuscript'. *Musical Quarterly* 55, 228–45.

———. 1974. 'A Unique Notre-Dame Motet Tenor Relationship'. *Music and Letters* 55, 398–409.

———. 1982. 'New Sources of Medieval Music'. *Musicology Australia: Journal of the Musicological Society of Australia* 7, 1–26.

Anderson, Michael Alan. 2008. 'Symbols of Saints: Theology, Ritual, and Kinship in Music for John the Baptist and St. Anne (1175–1563)'. PhD diss., University of Chicago.

Andrée, Alexander. 2005. *Gilbertus Universalis: Glossa Ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie prophete. Prothemata et Liber I.: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and a Translation*. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia. Stockholm.

Apel, Willi. 1953. *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600*. 5th edn. Cambridge, MA.

Arlt, Wulf. 1970. *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*. 2 vols. Cologne.

———. 2000. 'The Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy (Translated by Lori Kruckenberg, Kelly Landerkin and Margot E. Fassler)'. In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography. Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, 324–43. Oxford.

Atkinson, Charles. 1989. 'Franco of Cologne on the Rhythm of Organum Purum'. *Early Music History* 9, 1–26.

Aubry, Pierre. 1907. *Recherches sur les tenors français dans les motets du treizième siècle*. Paris.

Auda, Antoine. 1953. *Les 'Motets Wallons' du manuscrit de Turin: Vari 42*. 2 vols. Brussels.

Avril, François. 1970. 'Trois manuscrits de l'entourage de Jean Pucelle'. *Revue de l'art* 9, 37–48.

———. 1978. *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310–1380)*. New York.

———. 1981. 'Manuscrits'. In *Les Fastes du Gothique, le siècle de Charles V* (exhibition catalogue), 276–362. Paris.

———. 1990. 'Une curieuse illustration de la Fête-Dieu: l'iconographie du Christ prêtre élevant l'hostie et sa diffusion'. In *Rituels: Mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P.*, ed. Paul De Clerck and Eric Palazzo, 39–54. Paris.

———. 1998. 'Manuscrits'. In *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328*, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and François Avril, 256–334. Paris.

———. 2011. 'Jean le Noir et Saint-Martin-des-Champs'. In *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, ed. Christopher Baswell, 103–11. Turnhout.

Backhouse, Janet. (1997) 1998. *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library*. Reprint, Toronto.

Bailey, Terence. 1974. *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant, Studies and Texts.* Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 28. Toronto.

Bain, Jennifer. 2003. 'Theorizing the Cadence in the Music of Machaut'. *Journal of Music Theory* 47, 325–62.

Baltzer, Rebecca A. 1972. 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25, 1–18.

———. 1990. 'Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin'. In *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, ed. Brian Seirup and Peter M. Lefferts (*Current Musicology* 45–7), 7–42. New York.

———. 1997. 'The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*: Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet'. In *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce, 17–27. Oxford.

———. 2000a. 'The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris'. In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, 463–84. Oxford.

———. 2000b. 'A Royal French Breviary from the Reign of Saint Louis'. In *The Varieties of Musicology: Essays in Honor of Murray Lefkowitz*, ed. John Daverio and John Ogasapian, 3–25. Warren.

———. 2007. 'Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer'. In *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Brian Gillingham*, ed. Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso, 112–28. Aldershot.

———. 2016. 'The Sources and the Sanctorale: Dating by the Decade in Thirteenth-Century Paris'. In *Music and Culture in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Liturgy, Sources, Symbolism*, ed. Benjamin Brand and David J. Rothenberg, 111–41. Cambridge.

Bent, Margaret. 1998. 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis'. In *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, Criticism and Analysis of Early Music 1, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, 15–59. New York.

———. 2008. *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript, introductory study and facsimile edition by Margaret Bent*. 2 vols. Ars nova, nuova serie 2. Lucca.

———. 2015. *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the* Speculum musicae. Royal Music Association Monographs 28. Farnham.

——— and Andrew Wathey, eds. 1998. *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*. Oxford.

Berger, Roger, ed. 1963–70. *Le Nécrologe de la Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras, 1194–1361*. 2 vols. Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais 11/2 and 13/2. Arras.

Bernard, John Henry, and Robert Atkinson. 1898. *The Irish Liber Hymnorum. Edited from the Mss, with Translations, Notes, and Glossary*. 2 vols. London.

Bernhard, Michael, with Bernhold Schmid and Calvin M. Bower, eds. 1992–. *Lexicon musicum Latinum medii aevi* (*Wörterbuch der lateinischen Musikterminologie des Mittelalters bis zum Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts/Dictionary of Medieval Latin Music Terminology to the End of the 15th Century*). 13 vols (to date). Munich.

Besseler, Heinrich. 1926–7. 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II: Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry'. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 8, 137–258.

Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier. 1990. *Rotulus: One Conductus and Nine Motets, Early 14th Century (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 19606)*. Peer.

Birkenmajer, Aleksander. 1922. *Bibljoteka Ryszarda de Fournival, poety i uczonego francuskiego z początku* XIII-go wieku i jej *późniejsze losy*. Polska Akademji Umiejętności Wydział Filologiczny, Rozprawy 60/4. Krakow.

Bischoff, Bernhard. 1990. *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz. Cambridge.

Björkvall, Gunilla, Jan Brunius, and Anna Wolodarski. 1996. 'Flerstämmig musik från medeltiden'. *Nordisk tidkrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 83, 129–55.

Blom, Eric, ed. 1954. 'Modes'. In *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5:797–804. London.

Blume, Clemens, ed. 1908. *Die Hymnen des 5. bis 11. Jahrhunderts und die Irisch-Keltische Hymnodie, aus den ältesten Quellen neu herausgegeben von Clemens Blume*. Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 51. Leipzig.

——— and Henry Bannister, eds. 1915. *Liturgische Prosen des Übergangsstiles und der zweiten Epoche, insbesondere die dem Adam von Sanct Victor zugeschriebenen*. Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi 54. Leipzig.

Bolton, Whitney French. 1967. *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, Volume 1: 597–740*. Princeton.

Boos, Elizabeth L. 1971. 'Alleluia Cum Psallite'. *Musica Disciplina* 25, 93–8.

Born, Georgina. 2005. 'On Musical Mediation: Ontology, Technology and Creativity'. *Twentieth-Century Music* 2, 7–36.

Bossy, Michel-André, and Nancy A. Jones. 1996. 'Gender and Compilational Patterns in Troubadour Lyric: The Case of Manuscript N'. *French Forum* 21, 261–80.

Boudeau, Océane. 2013. *L'Office de la Circoncision de Sens (manuscrit 46 de la Médiathèque municipale de Sens)*. 2 vols. PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris.

———2012. 'Les Notations de deux offices de la Circoncision (Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 46 et Londres, British Library, ms Egerton 2615) comparées à celles d'autres manuscrits issus des *scriptoria* de Sens et de Beauvais'. *Études grégoriennes* 39, 195–220.

Bowles, Edmund A. 1954. 'Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages'. *Musica Disciplina* 8, 115–40.

Bradley, Catherine A. 2013. 'Ordering in the Motet Fascicles of the Florence Manuscript'. *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 22, 37–64.

Bragard, Roger, ed. 1955–73. *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*. 7 vols. Corpus scriptorum de musica 3. [Rome].

Branner, Robert. 1977. *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.

Breen, Edward. 2014. 'The Performance Practice of David Munrow and The Early Music Consort of London: Medieval Music in the 1960s and 1970s'. PhD diss., King's College London.

Brown, Julian, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley. 1981. 'Further Observations on W1'. *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediæval Music Society* 4, 53–80.

Brunius, Jan. 2013. *From Manuscripts to Wrappers. Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*. Stockholm.

Busby, Keith. 2002. *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*. 2 vols. Faux Titre: Etudes de langue et littérature française 221–2. Amsterdam and New York.

——— and Christopher Kleinhenz. 2015. 'Medieval French and Italian Literature: Towards a Manuscript History'. In *The Medieval Manuscript Book*, ed. Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, 215–42. Cambridge.

Busse Berger, Anna Maria. 2002. 'The Evolution of Rhythmic Notation'. In *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, 628–56. Cambridge and New York.

——— 2005. *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*. Berkeley.

Butler, Christopher. 1970. *Number Symbolism*. London.

Butterfield, Ardis. 1998. 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman the Fauvel*'. In *Fauvel Studies: Studies: Allegory, Chronicle and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, 105–60. Oxford.

———. 2002. *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut*. Cambridge.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. 1992. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York.

Caldwell, Mary Channen. 2016. 'A Medieval Patchwork Song: Poetry, Prayer and Music in a Thirteenth-Century Conductus'. *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 25, 139–65.

Clark, Alice V. 1996. '*Concordare cum Materia:* The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet'. PhD diss., Princeton University.

———. 2012. 'Motets Read and Heard'. In *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Deborah McGrady and Jennifer Bain, 185–208. Leiden.

Clément, Gisèle. 2013. 'Prêcher en chantant? Rythme et prédication dans le motet *Super cathedram/ Presidentes/Ruina* du *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, BnF, fr 146)'. *Rhuthmos*. Available at http://rhuthmos.eu/spip.php?article940.

———. 2014. 'Rythme et prédication dans le motet *Super cathedram/Presidentes/Ruina* du *Roman de Fauvel*'. In *Rythmes et croyances au Moyen Âge*, ed. Marie Formarier and Jean-Claude Schmitt, 135–51. Bordeaux.

Clément-Dumas, Gisèle, and Isabelle Fabre. 2009. 'Saint-Étienne et l'amant courtois. Jeux sur la figure du martyr dans le motet *S'amours /Au renouveler/Ecce* de Pierre de la Croix'. *Études grégoriennes* 36, 1–20.

Colker, Marvin L. 1991. *Trinity College Library Dublin Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*. 2 vols. Aldershot.

Collon, Alphonse, ed. (1905) 1979. *Catalogue général des manuscrits publiques de France, Département 37,2: Tours*. Reprint, Vaduz/Liechtenstein.

Cook, James Heustis. 1978. 'Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets'. PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin.

Cooke, Mervyn. 2009. 'Anatomy of a Movie: Duke Ellington and 1950s Film Scoring'. In *Thriving on a Riff: Jazz and Blues Influences in African American Literature and Film*, ed. Graham Lock and David Murray, 240–59. New York.

Coover, James, and Richard Colvig. 1964. *Medieval and Renaissance Music on Long-Playing Records.* Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 6. Detroit.

Crocker, Richard. 1990. 'French Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century'. In *The New Oxford History of Music: Volume II: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. David Hiley and Richard Crocker, 636–78. 2nd edn. New York and Oxford.

———. 1995. 'Gregorian Studies in the Twenty-First Century', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4, 33–86.

Cross, Lucy. 1990. 'Chromatic Alteration and Extrahexachordal Intervals in Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Repertories'. PhD diss., Columbia University.

Cserba, Simon M., ed., 1935. *Hieronymus de Moravia, Tractatus de musica*. Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2. Regensburg.

Curran, Sean. 2013a. 'Composing a Codex: The Motets in the "La Clayette" Manuscript'. In *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker*, ed. Judith A. Peraino, 219–54. Middleton.

———. 2013b. 'Vernacular Book Production, Vernacular Polyphony, and the Motets of the "La Clayette" Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521)'. PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.

———. 2014. 'Reading and Rhythm in the "La Clayette" Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521)'. *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 23, 125–50.

———. 2015. 'Writing, Performance, and Devotion in the Thirteenth-Century Motet: The "La Clayette" Manuscript'. In *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, 193–220. Cambridge.

Dart, Thurston. (1954) 1963. *The Interpretation of Music*. Reprint, New York.

———. 1961. 'A Dying Tradition?', *[Letters to the Editor] The Times* (31 October), 11. London.

Daston, Lorraine. 2004. 'Introduction: Speechless'. In *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, ed. Lorraine Daston, 9–24. New York.

Davidson, Jim. 1994. *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of Oiseau-Lyre, 1884–1962*. Miegunyah Press Series 14. Portland.

Delaporte, Yves. 1957. 'Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine de chant liturgique au XI^e^ siècle'. *Études grégoriennes* 2, 51–80.

Denny, Don. 1969. 'Notes on the Avignon Pietà'. *Speculum* 44, 213–33.

Denoël, Christine. 1971. 'La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liège'. Mémoire de licence en histoire, Université de Liège.

Derolez, Albert. 2003. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge.

Desmond, Karen. 2009. 'Behind the Mirror: Revealing the Contexts of Jacobus's *Speculum musicae*'. PhD diss., New York University.

———. forthcoming. *Music and the* moderni*, 1300–1350: The* ars nova *in Theory and Practice*. Cambridge.

Dillon, Emma. 2002. *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'*. New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism. Cambridge.

———. 2012a. 'Introduction'. In *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song; Proceedings of 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscripts in the Digital Age, November 20–21, 2010*, ed. Lynn Ransom and Emma Dillon, 1–8. Piscataway.

———. 2012b. *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330*. The New Cultural History of Music. New York and Oxford.

———. 2016. 'Sensing Sound'. In *A Feast for the Senses: Art and Experience in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli, 95–114. New Haven and London.

Dittmer, Luther. 1954. 'An English Discantuum Volumen'. *Musica Disciplina* 8, 19–58.

———. 1955. 'The Ligatures of the Montpellier Manuscript'. *Musica Disciplina* 9, 35–55.

———. c.1959. *Anonymous IV [Concerning the measurement of polyphonic song]*. Brooklyn.

Dobby, Margaret. 2012. 'Le Motet et l'Arbre de Jessé. Les pièces à deux voix sur la teneur *FLOS FILIUS EJUS* dans le Codex W2'. PhD diss., Université de Poitiers.

Domek, Richard. 2012. 'The Late Duke: Ellington's and Strayhorn's Music for *Anatomy of a Murder* Considered'. *Jazz Perspectives* 6, 75–121.

Doss-Quinby, Elgal, and Samuel Rosenberg. 2006. *The Old French Ballette*. Geneva.

Du Cange, Charles Du Fresne. (1883–7) 1954. *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*. 10 vols in 5. Reprint, Graz.

Duchesne, Louis. 1889. *Origines du culte chrétien. Étude sur la liturgie avant Charlemagne*. Paris.

Ellington, Donna Spivey. 1995. 'Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin's Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons'. *Renaissance Quarterly* 48, 227–261.

Espinas, Georges. 1941–2. *Les Origines du droit d'association dans les villes de l'Artois et de la Flandre française jusqu'au début du XVIe siècle*. 2 vols. Les origines de l'association 1. Lille.

Everist, Mark. 1985. 'French Thirteenth-Century Polyphony: Aspects of Sources and Distribution'. 2 vols. PhD diss., University of Oxford.

———. 1989. *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*. Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities. New York and London.

———. 1992. 'Anglo-French Interaction in Music, c1170–1300'. *Revue belge de musicologie* 46, 5–22.

———. 1994. *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*. Cambridge.

———. 2007. 'Motets, French Tenors and the Polyphonic Chanson ca. 1300'. *Journal of Musicology* 24, 365–406.

———. 2010. 'Tails of the Unexpected: The *Punctus organi* and the *Conductus cum caudis*'. In *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs*, ed. Rainer Kleinertz, Christoph Flamm, and Wolf Frobenius, 161–96. New York.

———. forthcoming. 'Friends and Foals: The Polyphonic Music of Adam de la Halle'. In *A Companion to Adam de la Halle*, ed. Jennifer Saltzstein. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition. Leiden.

Excell, Richard. 1986. 'Richard de Fournival (1201–1260): His Life, the *Biblionomia*, and his Other Works'. PhD diss., Monash University.

Fallows, David. 1976. 'L'Origine du ms. 1328 de Cambrai'. *Revue de musicologie* 62, 275–80.

Fassler, Margot. 2000. 'Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the *Stirps Jesse*: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife'. *Speculum* 75, 389–434.

———. 2010. *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts*. New Haven and London.

Fatwier, Robert, and François Millard, eds. 1954. *Comptes Royaux (1285–1314)*. Recueil des historiens de la France: Documents financiers 3. Paris.

Fein, Susanna Greer. 1998. 'The Dispute between Mary and the Cross'. In *Moral Love Songs and Laments*, ed. Susanna Greer Fein, 87–160. Middle English Texts Series. Kalamazoo.

Fischer, Kurt von, and Max Lutolf. 1972. *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. Répertoire international des sources musicales BIV 3–4. Munich and Duisberg.

Flotzinger, Rudolf. 2007. 'Die Vorauer Motettenfragmente'. In *Annäherungen. Festschrift für Jürg Stenzl zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Mosch, Matthias Schmidt, and Salvia Wälli, 88–99. Saarbrücken.

Freeman, Margaret B. 1945. 'Lighting the Easter Candle'. *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* n.s. 3 (April), 194–200.

Frobenius, Wolf. 1988. 'Hoquetus'. In *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. H. H. Eggebrecht. Wiesbaden.

———. 1989. 'Der Musiktheoretiker Franco von Köln'. In *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, 345–56. Miscellanea Mediaevalia, Band 20. Berlin and New York.

Fuller, Sarah. 1971. 'Hidden Polyphony: A Reappraisal'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, 169–92.

———. 1986. 'On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Some Preliminary Reflections'. *Journal of Music Theory* 30, 35–70.

———. 1987. 'Line, *Contrapunctus* and Structure in a Machaut Song'. *Music Analysis* 6, 37–58.

———. 1992. 'Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in *Ars nova* Music'. *Journal of Music Theory* 36, 229–58.

———. 1998. 'Exploring Tonal Structure in French Polyphonic Song of the Fourteenth Century'. In *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, 61–86. Criticism and Analysis of Early Music 1. New York.

———. 2002. 'Organum – *discantus* – *contrapunctus* in the Middle Ages'. *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen, 477–502. Cambridge.

———. 2013. '*Contrapunctus*, Dissonance Regulation, and French Polyphony of the Fourteenth Century'. In *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker*, ed. Judith A. Peraino, 113–52. Publications of the American Institute of Musicology, Miscellanea 8. Middleton.

Fulton, Rachel. 1998. '"Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?" The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption'. *Medieval Studies* 60, 55–122.

———. 2002. *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200*. New York.

Galán Gómez, Santiago. 2015. 'A New Source of Notre Dame Polyphony from Spain: The Manuscript of Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, 98-28 and Its Repertory'. In *New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain*, ed. Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 71–7. Iberian Early Music Studies 1. Kassel.

Gallo, F. Alberto, ed. 1971. *Anonymus. Ars musicae mensurabilis secundum Franconem (Mss. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 15129; Uppsala, Universiteitsbibl., C 55)*. Corpus scriptorum de musica 15. [Rome].

Gennrich, Friedrich. 1926. 'Trouvèrelieder und Motettenrepertoire'. *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9, 8–39 and 65–85.

———. 1957. *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*. Summa musicae medii aevi 2. Darmstadt.

———, ed. 1958. *Die Wimpfener Fragmente der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Darmstadt. Faksimile-Ausgabe der HS 3471*. Summa musicae medii aevi 5. Darmstadt.

Gilles, André, and Gilbert Reaney, eds. 1974. *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*. Corpus scriptorum de musica 18. [Rome].

Glorieux, Palémon. 1963. 'Etudes sur la Biblionomia de Richard de Fournival'. *Récherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 30, 205–31.

Godt, Irving, and Benito Rivera. 1984. 'The Vatican Organum Treatise: A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation'. In *Gordon Athol Anderson (1926–1981) In Memoriam*, ed. Luther Dittmer, 264–345. Henryville.

Göllner, Marie Louise. 1986. 'The Transmission of French Motets in German and Italian Manuscripts of the 14th Century'. *Musica Disciplina* 40, 63–77.

———, ed. 1993. *The Manuscript Cod. lat. 5539 of the Bavarian State Library. With an Edition of the Original Treatises and of the Two-voice Organal Settings*. Musicological Studies and Documents 43. Neuhausen-Stuttgart.

Grau, Anna Kathryn. 2013. '"Woe to anyone who would trust in women": Clerical Misogyny in the Montpellier Codex'. Paper presented at the conference *Cantum pulcriorem invenere*, University of Southampton.

Grochowska, Katarzyna. 2013. 'Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles: A Study of the Stary Saçz Manuscript [PL-SS Muz 9] and Its Implications for Modes of Repertory Organization in 13th-Century Polyphonic Collections'. PhD diss., University of Chicago.

Guhl-Miller, Solomon. 2013. 'Three Hypothetical Phases of Notre Dame Organum Performance Practice'. *Musica Disciplina* 58, 101–51.

———. 2014. 'Un lien structurel entre le plain-chant et l'Organum'. *Analyse musicale* 75, 32–40.

Günther, Ursula. 1988. 'Les Versions polyphoniques du *Deus in adiutorium*'. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 31, 111–22.

Haines, John. 2008. 'The Origins of the Musical Staff'. *Musical Quarterly* 91, 327–78.

Hammond, Frederick F., ed. 1970. *Walteri Odington Summa de Speculatione musicae*. Corpus scriptorum de musica 14. [Rome].

Handschin, Jacques. 1951. 'The Summer Canon and Its Background: II'. *Musica Disciplina* 5, 65–113.

Hanna, Ralph, III. 1986. 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations'. *Studies in Bibliography* 39, 100–11.

———. 1996. *Pursuing History: Medieval English Manuscripts and Their Texts*. Stanford.

———. 2005. *London Literature, 1300–1380*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature. Cambridge.

———. 2009. 'Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487: Some Problems of Early Thirteenth-Century Textual Transmission'. In *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Catherine Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker, 78–88. York.

Hardison, Osborne Bennett. 1965. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*. Baltimore.

Harper, John. 1991. *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*. Oxford.

Harris, Max. 2011. *Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools*. Ithaca and London.

Harrison, Frank L., ed. 1980. *Motets of English Provenance*. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 15. Monaco.

Hésbert, Dom René-Jean. 1963–79. *Corpus antiphonalium officii*. 6 vols. Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior 7–12. Rome.

Hiley, David. 1995. *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford.

Hoffmann-Axthelm, Dagmar. 1973. 'Tenor'. In *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 1–5. Stuttgart.

Hopper, Vincent F. 1938. *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influences on Thought and Expression*. Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature. New York.

Hoppin, Richard. 1955. 'A Musical Rotulus of the Fourteenth Century'. *Revue belge de musicologie* 9, 131–42.

——— and Suzanne Clercx. 1959. 'Notes biographiques sur quelques musiciens du XIVe siècle'. In *Les Colloques de Wégimont II–1955, L'Ars nova: Recueil d'études sur la musique du XIVe siècle*, 63–92. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 149. Paris.

Huck, Oliver. 2015. 'The Layout of the Early Motet'. *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 7, 11–32.

Hughes, Andrew. 1995. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto.

Hughes, David. 1987. 'Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40, 377–404.

Huglo, Michel. 1980–1. 'De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège'. *Revue belge de musicologie* 34–5, 44–60.

———. 1999. 'Recherches sur la personne et l'oeuvre de Francon'. *Acta Musicologica* 71, 1–18.

Huot, François. 1973. *L'Ordinaire de Sion. Étude sur sa transmission manuscrite, son cadre historique et sa liturgie*. Spicilegium Friburgense 18. Fribourg.

Huot, Sylvia. 1987. 'Transformations of the Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets and Plays of Adam de la Halle'. *Romanic Review* 78, 148–64.

———. 1997. *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*. Stanford.

Ibos-Augé, Anne. 2007. 'Les Refrains de la "Court de Paradis". Variance et cohérence des insertions lyriques dans un poème narratif du XIIIe siècle'. *Revue de musicologie* 93, 229–67.

Immel, Stephen. 2001. 'The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined'. *Early Music History* 20, 121–72.

Jacobsthal, Gustav. 1879. 'Die Texte der Liederhandschrift von Montpellier H. 196. Diplomatischer Abdruck'. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 3, 526–56.

Jeffery, Peter. 1984. 'A Four-Part *In seculum* Hocket and a Mensural Sequence in an Unknown Fragment'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37, 1–48.

Johnson, Glenn Pierr. 1991. 'Aspects of Late Medieval Music at the Cathedral of Amiens'. PhD diss., Yale University.

Katayama, Mikio. 2001. 'La "Polyphonie" textuelle dans le motet au XIIIe siècle', *Études de langue et littérature françaises* 78, 3–13.

Keane, Marguerite A. 2013. 'Collaboration in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre'. In *Jean Pucelle: Innovation and Collaboration in Manuscript Painting*, ed. Kyunghee Pyun and Anna Russakoff, 131–48. Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History. London and Turnhout.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest. 1996. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. Oxford.

Kendrick, Robert L. 2014. *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week*. Bloomington.

Kretzmann, Paul Edward. 1916. *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama: With Special Reference to the English and German Plays*. Minneapolis.

Krieger, Michaela. 1995. *Grisaille als Metapher. Zum Entstehen der Peinture en Camaïeu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert*. Vienna.

Kügle, Karl. 2008. 'Two Abbots and a Rotulus: New Light on Brussels 19606'. In *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata et al., 145–85. Middleton.

Kühn, Hellmut, and Peter Nitsche, eds. 1980. 'Roundtable. Peripherie und Zentrum in der Musik des hohen Mittelalters'. In *Bericht über den Internationaler Kongress, Berlin 1974*, 58–74. Kassel.

Ladner, Pascal, ed. 1976. *Iter Helveticum, Vol. I. Die liturgischen Handschriften der Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg*. Freiburg.

———. 1977. *Iter Helveticum, Vol. II. Die liturgischen Handschriften des Kantons Freiburg (ohne Kantonsbibliothek), beschrieben von Josef Leisibach*. Freiburg.

———. 1984. *Iter Helveticum, Vol. IV. Die liturgischen Handschriften des Kantons Kanton Wallis (ohne Kapitelsarchiv Sitten), beschrieben von Josef Leisibach und François Huot*. Freiburg.

Langlois, M. Ernest, ed. 1902. *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*. Paris.

Latham, Ronald E., and David R. Howlett et al. 1975–2013. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. Oxford.

Laurentin, René. 1954. 'L'interprétation de Genèse 3, 15 dans la tradition jusqu'au début du XIII^e siècle'. *Études mariales* 12, 77–156.

Leach, Elizabeth Eva. 2000. 'Counterpoint and Analysis in Fourteenth-Century Song'. *Journal of Music Theory* 44, 45–79.

———. 2011. 'A Concordance for an Early Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Exaudi melodiam/Alme Deus/TENOR* Revisited'. Available at https://eeleach.files.wordpress.com/2011/08/dijon-motet2.pdf.

———. 2015. 'A Courtly Compilation: The Douce Chansonnier'. In *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, 221–46. Cambridge.

Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel. 1989. *Compositional Techniques in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe de Vitry and His Contemporaries*. 2 vols. Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities. New York and London.

———. 1995. 'The Emergence of *Ars nova*'. *Journal of Musicology* 13, 285–317.

———. 2002. *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance*. Cambridge.

Lefferts, Peter. 1986. *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*. Studies in Musicology 94. Ann Arbor.

———. 2012. 'Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions'. Faculty Publications: School of Music, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

———, ed. 1991. *Robertus de Handlo: Regule, The Rules, and Johannes Hanboys: Summa, The Summa: A New Critical Text and Translation*. Lincoln.

Legendre, Olivier. 2008. 'Some Tools for Dating and Localizing Manuscripts'. *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 11, 181–96.

Lerch, Irmgard. 1987. *Fragmente aus Cambrai. Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*. 2 vols. Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 11. Kassel.

Lewis, Katherine. 2000. *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge.

Lieftinck, Gerard Isaac. 1954. 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique'. In *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Sciences humaines 4, 15–34. Paris.

Lobrichon, Guy, and Christian Meyer, eds. 2012. *Hieronymi de Moravia: Tractatus de musica*. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 250. Turnhout.

Losseff, Nicky. 1994. *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*. Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities. New York.

Ludwig, Friedrich. 1923. 'Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils'. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5, 185–222.

———. 1930. 'Die geistliche nichtliturgische weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts'. In *Handbook der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler, 1:157–295. 2 vols. 2nd edn. Berlin.

———. (1910) 1964. *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. Band I. Catalogue raisonné der Quellen. Abteilung 1. Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, ed. Luther A. Dittmer. Musicological Studies 7. Brooklyn, New York, and Hildesheim.

———. 1972. *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. Band II. Catalogue raisonné der Quellen*, ed. Luther Dittmer. Brooklyn, New York, and Hildesheim.

———. 1978. *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili. Band I. Catalogue raisonné der Quellen. Abteilung 2. Handschriften in Mensural-Notation*, ed. Luther Dittmer. Musicological Studies 26. Brooklyn, New York, and Hildesheim.

MacGregor, Alasdair J. 1992. *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*. Alcuin Club Collections 71. Collegeville.

Mäkinen, Timo. 1967. 'Piae Cantiones: Über Geschichte und Zusammensetzung der Liedersammlung'. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 9, fasc. 3/4, 371–94.

Marichal, Robert. 1972. 'Paléographie latine et française'. École pratique des hautes-études. 4e section. Sciences historiques et philologiques. Annuaire 1971–1972, 343–54.

Martinez, Ronald L. 2003. 'Mourning Laura in the "Canzoniere": Lessons from Lamentations'. *MLN* 118, 1–45.

Mascarenas, Oscar. 2010. 'Exposing the Play in Gregorian Chant: The Manuscript as an Opening of Re-Presentation'. PhD diss., University of Limerick.

Maschke, Eva M. 2013. '*Porta salutis ave*: Manuscript Culture, Material Culture, and Music'. *Musica disciplina* 58, 167–229.

———. 2015a. *Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their History: Case Studies on Reception and Reuse*. PhD diss., University of Hamburg/University of Southampton.

———. 2015b. 'Some Preliminary Observations on the Afterlife of Notre Dame Fragments'. *Manuscript Cultures* 8, 138–56.

Maw, David. 1999. 'Words and Music in the Secular Songs of Guillaume de Machaut'. 2 vols. DPhil diss., University of Oxford.

———. 2010. 'Redemption and Retrospection in Jacques de Liège's Concept of Cadentia'. *Early Music History* 29, 79–118.

McKinnon, James, ed. 1998. *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History, Vol. 2: The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*. Leo Treitler, general editor. Rev. edn. New York.

Mews, Constant J., John N. Crossley, Catherine Jeffreys, Leigh McKinnon, and Carol J. Williams. 2011. *Johannes de Grocheio. Ars musice.* TEAMS Varia. Kalamazoo.

Meyer, Christian. 2013. *Collections de Bourgogne et d'Île-de-France. Autun, Auxerre, Avallon, Beaune, Chalon-sur-Saône, Dijon, Mâcon, Melun, Provins, Semur-en-Auxois, Sens*, Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Age conservés dans les Bibliothèques publiques de France 3. Turnhout.

———, ed., and Karen Desmond, trans. 2015. *The 'Ars musica' Attributed to Magister Lambertus/ Aristoteles.* With Introduction and Critical Notes by Christian Meyer, trans. Barbara Haggh-Huglo. Farnham and Burlington.

Miethke, Jürgen. 1974. 'Ein neuer Text zur Geschichte der politischen Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert. Der "Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis" des Guilelmus de Sarzano aus Genua'. *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54, 509–38.

Minnis, Alastair J., and Alexander Brian Scott, with David Wallace, eds. 1988. *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100–c.1375: The Commentary tradition*. Oxford.

Monti, James. 1993. *The Week of Salvation: History and Traditions of Holy Week*. Huntingdon.

———. 2012. *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages.* San Francisco.

Morand, Kathleen. 1962. *Jean Pucelle*. Oxford.

Neff, Amy. 1998. 'The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross'. *Art Bulletin* 80, 254–73.

Norwood, Patricia P. 1986. 'Performance Manuscripts from the Thirteenth Century?' *College Music Symposium* 26, 92–6.

Oliver, Judith H. 1978. 'The *Crise Bénédictine* and Revival at the Abbey of St. Jacques in Liège c. 1300'. *Quaerendo* 8, 320–36.

———. 1988. *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (c.1250–c.1330)*. 2 vols. Corpus van verluchte handschriften uit de Nederlanden 2–3. Leuven.

———. 1995. 'L'héritage de Philippe Bruni, doyen du chapitre de Sainte-Croix, de retour à Liège', *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège* 60, 47–63.

Pächt, Otto, and J. J. G. Alexander. 1970. *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, Vol. 2: Italian School*. Oxford.

Page, Christopher. 1989. *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100–1300*. London.

———. 1993a. *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France.* Oxford.

———. 1993b. 'Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation'. *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 2, 17–41.

Parkes, Malcolm B. 2008. *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes. The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999*. Aldershot.

Parsoneault, Catherine Jean. 2001. 'The Montpellier Codex: Royal Influence and Musical Taste in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris'. PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin.

———. 2005. '"Aimer la musique ancienne": Yvonne Rihouët Rokseth (1890–1948)'. In *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Jane Chance, 339–51. Madison.

Payne, Thomas B., ed. 1996. *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VI (A–B). Les organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst*. Monaco.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. 1996. *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*. New York.

Peraino, Judith A. 2011. *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*. Oxford.

Pesce, Dolores. 1986. 'The Significance of Text in Thirteenth-Century Latin Motets'. *Acta Musicologica* 58, 91–117.

———. 1990. 'A Case for Coherent Pitch Organization in the Thirteenth-Century Double Motet'. *Music Analysis* 9, 287–318.

———. 1997. 'Beyond Glossing: The Old Made New in *Mout me fu grief/Robin m'aime/Portare*'. In *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce, 28–51. Oxford.

Pfändtner, Karl-Georg. 2012. 'Zum Entstehungsraum der Bamberger Motettenhandschrift Msc. Lit. 115 – kodikologische und kunsthistorische Argumente'. *Acta musicologica* 84, 161–6.

Pinegar, Sandra. 1991. 'Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries'. PhD diss., Columbia University.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. 2003. 'The Flower's Children'. *Journal of Musicological Research* 22, 303–48.

Plotzek, Joachim M., et al. 1992. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter*. Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne, exhibition catalogue. Stuttgart.

Plumley, Yolanda. 2013. *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut*. Oxford.

Pyun, Kyunghee, and Anna Russakoff, eds. 2013. *Jean Pucelle: Innovation and Collaboration in Manuscript Painting*. Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History. London and Turnhout.

Reaney, Gilbert. 1966. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th–Early 14th Century)*. Répertoire international des sources musicales Band IV/1. Munich and Duisberg.

Reaney, Gilbert. 1969. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320–1400)*, Répertoire international des sources musicales Band IV/2. Munich and Duisberg.

Reckow, Fritz. 1967. *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4. I: Edition; II: Interpretation der Organum purum-Lehre*. 2 vols. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5. Wiesbaden.

Reimer, Erich, ed. 1972. *Johannes de Garlandia, De mensurabili musica. Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*. 2 vols. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10-11. Wiesbaden.

Robertson, Anne Walters. 2002. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works*. Cambridge.

Robinson, Pamela. 1980. '"The 'Booklet": A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts'. In *Codicologica*, ed. Albert Gruys and J. Peter Gumbert, 3:46–69. Litterae Textuales. Leiden.

Roesner, Edward H. 1981. 'The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of organum duplum'. In *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon, 365–99. New York.

———. 1984. Review of *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, by Hans Tischler. *Early Music History* 4, 362–75.

———. 1990. 'The Emergence of *musica mensurabilis*'. In *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan La Rue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner, 41–74. Madison.

Roesner, Edward H., ed. 1993. *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris I. Les quadrupla et tripla de Paris*. Monaco.

———. 1996. *Antiphonarium seu magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario: Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pluteus 29.1*. Codices illuminati medii aevi 45. Munich.

———, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, eds. 1990. *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146*. New York.

Rohloff, Ernst. 1972. *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*. Leipzig.

Rokseth, Yvonne. 1935–9. *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle. Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*. 4 vols. Paris.

Rothenberg, David. J. 2011. *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music*. Oxford.

Rouse, Richard. 1973. 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival'. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3, 253–69.

——— and Mary A. Rouse. 2000. *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*. 2 vols. Turnhout.

Rowe, Nina. 2001. *The Jew, The Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*. New York.

Rubin, Miri. 2009. *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*. London.

Sachs, Klaus-Jürgen. 1971. 'Zur Tradition der Klangschritt-Lehre. Die Texte mit der Formel "Si cantus ascendit . . ." und ihre Verwandten'. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28, 233–70.

Saenger, Paul. 1999. 'Reading in the Later Middle Ages'. In *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, 120–48. Amherst and Boston.

Saint-Cricq, Gaël. 2009. *Formes types dans le motet du XIII^e siècle. Étude d'un processus répétitif*. 2 vols. PhD diss., University of Southampton.

Saltzstein, Jennifer. 2013. *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Poetry*. Cambridge.

Sanders, Ernest H. 1962. 'Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15, 249–91.

———. 1964. 'Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, 261–87.

———. 1965. 'Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony'. *Acta musicologica* 37, 33–4.

———. 1973. 'The Medieval Motet'. In *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al., 497–583. Bern.

Schlager, Karlheinz, ed. 1968. *Alleluia-Melodien 1: bis 1100*. Monumenta monodica medii aevi 7. Kassel.

Schmidt-Beste, Thomas. 2013. 'Singing the Hiccup: On Texting the Hocket'. *Early Music History* 32, 225–75.

Schrade, Leo, ed. 1956. *The 'Roman de Fauvel', The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the 'Ordinarium missae'*. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 1. Monaco.

Simmons, Eleanor, ed. 1994. *Les Heures de Nuremberg. Reproduction intégrale du calendrier et des images du manuscrit Solger 4.4° de la Stadtbibliothek de Nuremberg*. Introduction and commentary by Eleanor Simmons, trans. Charles Scheel. Paris.

Smalley, Beryl. 1964. *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Notre Dame.

Smith, Norman E. 1990. 'The Notation of *Fractio Modi*'. In *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders*, ed. Brian Seirup and Peter M. Lefferts (= *Current Musicology* 45–7), 283–304. New York.

Stenzl, Jürg. 1970. 'Eine unbekannte Sanctus-Motette vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts'. *Acta Musicologica* 42, 128–38.

Southern, R. W. 1970. 'The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance'. In *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, 158–80. Oxford.

Spanke, Hans G. 1955. *Raynaud's Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes new bearbeitet und ergänzt*. Leiden.

Stakel, Susan, and Joel C. Relihan. 1985. *The Montpellier Codex, Part IV: Texts and Translations*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 8. Madison.

Staub, Kurt Hans, and Hermann Knaus. 1979. *Bibelhandschriften/beschrieben von Kurt Hans Staub. Ältere theologische Texte/beschrieben von Hermann Knaus*. Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt 4. Wiesbaden.

Sticca, Sandro. 1988. *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*. Athens, GA.

Stirnemann, Patricia. 2011. 'Private Libraries Privately Made'. In *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honour of Richard and Mary Rouse*, ed. Christopher Baswell, 187–98. Turnhout.

——— and Marcel Thomas, eds. 2011. *Der Psalter Ludwigs des Heiligen. Ms. lat. 10525 der Bibliothèque nationale de France*. Graz.

Stones, Alison. 2013–14. *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*. 2 parts in 4 vols. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France, series eds. François Avril, J. J. G. Alexander, and Christian Heck. London and Turnhout.

Taruskin, Richard. 2005. *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*. Oxford History of Western Music 1. New York and London.

Taylor, Anna Lisa. 2013. *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800–1050*. New York.

Thomson, Matthew. 2016. 'Interaction between Polyphonic Motets and Monophonic Songs in the Thirteenth Century'. 2 vols. DPhil diss., University of Oxford.

Tischler, Hans, ed. 1978. *The Montpellier Codex*. Parts I–III. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2–7. Madison.

———. 1988. *The Parisian Two-Part Organa: The Complete Comparative Edition*. 2 vols. Stuyvesant.

Tobler, Adolf. 1894. *Von französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*. 3rd edn. Leipzig.

Tschann, Judith, and Malcolm B. Parkes. 1996. *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*. Oxford.

Tyrer, John Walton. 1932. *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial*. Alcuin Club Collection 29. Oxford.

van den Boogaard, Nico H. J. 1969. *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e. Collationnement, introduction et notes*. Paris.

van der Werf, Hendrik. 1989. *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century*. Rochester.

Vleeschauwer, Herman Jean de. 1965. *La Biblionomia de Richard de Fournival du Manuscrit 636 de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne. Texte en facsimilé avec la transcription de Léopold Delisle*. Mousaion 62. Pretoria.

Villetard, Henri. 1907. *Office de Pierre de Corbeil (Office de la circoncision) improprement appelé 'Office des fous'. Texte et chant, publiés d'après le manuscrit de Sens (XIII^e siècle) avec introduction et notes*. Paris.

Vincent, Catherine. 1994. *Les Confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France, XIII^e–XIV^e siècle*. Bibliothèque Albin Michel Histoire. Paris.

Wagner, Jeff, and Steven Wilson. 2010. *Mean Deviation: Four Decades of Progressive Heavy Metal*. Brooklyn, NY.

Wagner, Peter. 1911–21. *Einführung in die Gregoranischen Melodien*. 3 vols. Leipzig.

Warner, Marina. 2013. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. 2nd edn. Oxford.

Wathey, Andrew. 1998. 'Gervais de Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court'. In *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, 599–614. Oxford.

Webber, Teresa. 2013. 'English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest: Continuity and Change in the Palaeography of Books and Book Collections'. In *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200*, ed. Erik Kwakkel, 185–228. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Book Culture 2. Leiden.

Wegman, Rob C. 2016. 'Jacobus de Ispania and Liège'. *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 8, 253–274.

———, trans. 2017. *Jacobus de Ispania: The Mirror of Music, Book the Seventh*. n.p. (publisher: Lamotte).

Williamson, Amy. 2016. 'Genre, Taxonomy and Repertory in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony'. PhD diss., University of Southampton.

Wilson, David Fenwick. 1977. 'The Motet of the Late Thirteenth Century and Its Relationship to the Development of Rhythmic Polyphony'. PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University.

————. 1990. *Music of the Middle Ages: Style and Structure*. New York.

Wolinski, Mary E. 1988. 'The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet'. PhD diss., Brandeis University.

————. 1992. 'The Compilation of the Montpellier Codex'. *Early Music History* 11, 263–301.

————. 2013. 'Hocketing and the Imperfect Modes in Relation to Poetic Expression in the Thirteenth Century'. *Musica Disciplina* 58, 393–411.

————. 2015. 'The Case of the Disappearing Rests: A New Look at the Spanish *In seculum* Hocket in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 20486'. In *New Perspectives on Early Music in Spain*, ed. Tess Knighton and Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 291–307. Iberian Early Music Studies 1. Kassel.

Wooldridge, Harry E. 1901. *The Oxford History of Music: The Polyphonic Period Part I: Method Of Musical Art 330–1330*. Oxford.

Wright, Craig. 1989. *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*. Cambridge.

Wüstefeld, Wilhelmina C. M., and Erine Rafik Morcos, with Marion Hanke. 2015. *Parchment and Gold: 25 Years of Dr. Jörn Günther's Rare Books*. Catalogue 11. Stalden.

Yeager, Peter. 1981. 'The Dispute between Mary and the Cross: Debate Poems of the Passion'. *Christianity and Literature* 30, 53–69.

Young, Karl. 1933. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*. 2 vols. Oxford.

Yudkin, Jeremy, trans. 1985. *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*. Musicological Studies & Documents 41. Neuhausen-Stuttgart.

————, ed. 1990. *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram. Complete Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. Bloomington and Indianapolis.

Zaminer, Frieder. 1959. *Der Vatikanische Organum-Traktat*. Münchner Veröffentlichungen der Musikgeschichte 2. Tutzing.

Zarifopol, Paul. 1904. *Kritischer Text der Lieder Richards de Fournival*. Halle.

# Contributors

**Rebecca A. Baltzer** is Professor Emerita of Musicology in the Butler School of Music at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research has focused on the music, notation, theory, and manuscripts of the Notre-Dame School and *Ars antiqua*, as well as codicology, liturgy, chant, and liturgical books of medieval Paris.

**Catherine A. Bradley** is Associate Professor of Musicology at the University of Oslo. Her research focuses on medieval polyphonic repertoires, especially the earliest motets.

**Edward Breen** is coordinator of the Music Department at The City Literary Institute, London and a regular contributor to Gramophone Magazine. He studies the early music revival of the 1960s and 70s, with an emphasis on musicians who worked with David Munrow.

**Sean Curran** is a Junior Research Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge. He works on music, literature, and manuscripts from later medieval France and England.

**Rachel Davies** currently teaches music at York College. A specialist in thirteenth-century song, with particular interest in bilingual motets, sacred-secular boundaries, women in medieval music, and medieval piety, Rachel has held a lectureship at the University of Huddersfield and has taught at the Universities of Birmingham, Newcastle, and Bristol.

**Karen Desmond** is Assistant Professor of Music at Brandeis University. She researches thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music, theory, and notation.

**Margaret Dobby**, lecturer at the Université Catholique de l'Ouest in Angers, is attached to the CESCM (Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale). Doctor of Musicology from the University of Poitiers and the Sorbonne, she specializes in thirteenth-century motets.

**Mark Everist** is Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. His research focuses on the music of western Europe in the period 1150-1330, opera in France in the nineteenth century, Mozart, reception theory, and historiography.

**Anna Kathryn Grau** is an instructor at DePaul University and the University of Illinois-Chicago. Her current research explores issues of gender, class, voice, and materiality in the thirteenth-century French song and motet repertoires.

**Solomon Guhl-Miller** teaches at Rutgers University and Temple University. He has presented and published on a number of subjects including medieval polyphony and nineteenth-century opera.

**Oliver Huck** has been Professor of Musicology at the University of Hamburg since 2006. From 2011 he has been director of the graduate school *Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe* in the Centre for the Studies of Manuscript Cultures and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities.

**Anne Ibos-Augé** is affiliated with the CESCM in Poitiers and heads the department of Musicology in the Conservatoire de Région in Perpignan, where she teaches music history and analysis. Her publications include *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval* and *REFRAIN*, an online database in collaboration with the University of Southampton, the CESCM, and the CESR.

**Eva M. Maschke** is currently a research assistant at Heidelberg University. She obtained her doctorate in 2015 in a binational supervision from the Universities of Hamburg and Southampton, as a member of the research groups *Manuscript Culture and Chant Communities* and *Cantum pulcriorem invenire*: *Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry and Music*, respectively.

**David Maw** is Associate Professor of Music at the University of Oxford, holding a Research Fellowship at Oriel College and Lectureships at Christ Church and Trinity College. Active as a composer, organist, and musicologist, he is currently preparing a new edition of the music of Guillaume de Machaut and a monograph on this composer's work.

**Dolores Pesce**, the Avis Blewett Professor of Music at Washington University in St. Louis, is a specialist in music of the Middle Ages and the late nineteenth century. Her books on medieval music and theory include *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Indiana University Press) and *Hearing the Motet*: *Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford University Press).

**Alison Stones** is Professor Emerita of History of Art and Architecture, University of Pittsburgh. She works on illuminated manuscripts, mostly French, from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.

**Mary E. Wolinski** is Professor of Music History at Western Kentucky University. Her publications have focused on music of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. They include, most recently, a chapter on music for the Confraternity of St James in Paris in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*.

# General index


accidental
  *see under* discant, application of *ficta*
Adam de la Halle 27–8, 29, 95 n.19, 211
Advent
  liturgy and liturgical drama 126 n. 15, 287
  manuscript decoration for 81, 83, 86
aesthetic
  combinatoriality 180–3, 212, 219, 221–3, 226
  difficulty 172–6, 181–3
  modernity 172–6
  old-fashioned (antiquated) 48, 139, 145, 158, 173 n. 30
*Alleluia Dulce lignum*, plainchant
  *see under* Holy Cross
*Alleluia Dulcis virgo*, plainchant
  *see under* Assumption, Feast of the
Amiens 15, 15 n.6, 111, 111 n. 66, 162 n. 5
analytical categories
  interval progressions 233–53
  tonal coherence 233–53
  tonal structures 233–53
  *see also* tonality
anaphora 257
  *see under* motet texts, techniques
Anderson, Gordon A. 155, 156, 271–2, 281
Annunciation, Feast of the 125, 129, 281
Anonymous IV 112 n.67, 140, 169–70, 172, 186, 190–6, 205, 206, 233
Anonymous of St Emmeram 94, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 206, 233
anthologies
  *see* manuscripts of polyphony; *liber motettorum*
antiphons, Marian
  *see under* Virgin Mary
Arlt, Wulf 106–7
Arras
  Confraternity of Jongleurs and Bourgeois 27
*Ars antiqua*
  *see* musical style, *Ars antiqua*
*Ars nova*
  *see* musical style, *Ars nova*
Assumption, Feast of the 84, 98 n. 31, 125, 128, 129
  *Alleluia Dulcis virgo*, plainchant for the 278–80
  in upper-voices of **Mo** 8,304 269–70, 272–3, 276–8, 280–2, 287–91
Aubry, Pierre 29
audience for motet performance
  *see under* Johannes de Grocheio
authorship
  of Petrus de Cruce 162, 180–1
  of Tassin and Loyset motets 28–9
Auxerre
  Abbey of Saint-Germain 52
Avril, François 14, 77, 87

**Ba**
  as a motet collection 7, 109
  chronology, relative to **Mo** 8 94
  geographic origins 110, 192
  layout, relative to **Mo** 8 92, 95
  position of *Deus in adiutorium intende I* 109
Baltzer, Rebecca A. 4, 8, 14, 71, 139, 281
baptism 276, 277, 281
Beauvais
  manuscripts from 102, 103
  Office for Feast of Circumcision 106, 107 n. 41
Bees/Beeswax
  *see* Eulogy of the Bees
Beleth, John
  *see* John Beleth
Belleville Breviary
  *see* BnF lat. 10483 and 10484
Besseler, Heinrich 52, 157, 184, 284
BnF fr. 2090, 2091, 2092 (three-volume *Vie de Saint-Denis*) 16, 63, 75, 84, 86, 88 n. 32
BnF lat. 248 (Bible of Philippe IV of France) 71, 74, 84–5
BnF lat. 1139 (St Martial manuscript) 106
BnF lat. 1023 (Breviary of Philippe IV of France) 66 n. 3, 75, 81–2, 83
BnF lat. 10483 and 10484 (Belleville Breviary) 87
BnF lat. 10525 (Psalter of St Louis) 70
BnF n.a.l. 3145 (Hours of Jeanne de Navarre) 71, 71 n.7, 72
Boen, Johannes
  *see* Johannes Boen
book production
  *see* manuscript production
  *see also under* Paris
books of hours 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 81, 101
  opening pieces 101
Boos, Elizabeth 128
Bossy, Michel-André 124
Boudeau, Océane 103, 106
**Br** 7, 15, 96, 96 n. 22, 99, 113–115
Brabant, Marie de
  *see* Marie de Brabant
Bradley, Catherine A. 121–2
Branner, Robert 13, 14, 78

breves, binary division of
  *see under* notation
*breves modi*
  *see under* rhythmic modes
Brulé, Gace
  *see* Gace Brulé
Busby, Keith 52

cacophony 283, 292, 295
*cadentia*
  described by Jacobus 235
Caldwell, Mary Channen 103
**Cambrai**
  layout 96
  provenance and dating 7 n.28, 113–114
  tenor designations 99
  version of *Deus in adiutorium intende II* 115
Cambridge, University of 286, 297
candles, including the Paschal candle
  *see* Fire rites in Tenebrae *under* Tenebrae
*cantilena entata* 193, n. 39
*cauda, caudae* 100, 194, 195, 205 n. 15
*chanson à refrain*
  structure in motet tenor 216
*chanson de rencontre*
  genre of motet text 212, 219, 223
Châtillon, Walter of
  *see* Walter of Châtillon
Cholet Master 73
Christmas
  liturgy and liturgical drama 8, 104, 118, 126 n. 15, 127, 128, 129, 136, 278
**Cl**
  devotional function 131, 133 n. 28
  *mise en page* 50 n. 66
  organizational principles, by exemplar 123
clausula 129, 254–5
  addition of motet texts to 174 n. 35
  and hockets 186–7, 192
  in **Ba** 109
  in **F** 121
  in **StV** 98 n. 31
clerics singing
  artistic depiction of 66–72, 75, 78–9, 88 n.36, 101–2, 118
clerics' Offices 8, 104–8, 111, 118
  Circumcision, feast of the 105, 106, 107
  Epiphany, feast of the 105
  Holy Innocents, feast of 104, 107, 108
  St John the Apostle/John the Evangelist, feast of 104, 108
  St Stephen, feast of 104, 108
clerics' robes
  chasuble 66, 68
  red silk copes 66, 79
*color* 234, 237, 238, 241, 246, 250, 256, 257, 258, 260
compositional process
  re-working and revision 176–8
compositional techniques
  design and structure 162, 170–1, 211–212, 216–219, 221–6, 258–60, 264–8
  intertextual quotation 211–26
  melodic repetition 255–8, 260
  tonal design 233–53
    *see also* tonality
  tonal foci 237–8, 240–53
concord
  *see* consonance
conductus
  and *punctus organi* 205 n. 15, 205 n.16
  at opening of *liber motettorum*, 2 n. 4, 100, 116
    *see also Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*
  opening pieces in collections of 112
  score notation of 100
conductus motet
  layout 90
confraternities
  confraternity motets 24–8
  in Paris and Arras 4, 24–8
*coniuncturae*
  *see under* notation
consonance 234, 235, 237, 257, 258, 260
contrafacta 3, 17, 21, 128 n.19, 279
Cook, James Heustis 199, 201
Corbeil, Peter of
  *see* Peter of Corbeil
Corpus Christi, Feast of 86, 87
*courtoisie*
  *see under* motet texts, themes
Crocker, Richard 162
cross
  *see* Holy Cross
Cruce, Petrus de
  *see* Petrus de Cruce
Curran, Sean 3, 4, 6, 8, 123, 131, 134
*currentes*
  *see under* notation

**Da**
  chronology relative to other sources 94
  codicological reassessment 110
  date and provenance 110
  gathering structure 110
  motet layout in 93
  position of *Deus in adiutorium intende I* 109
darkness, symbolism of in Tenebrae rites
  *see under* Tenebrae
Dart, Thurston 284–97
decoration
  *see* manuscript decoration
Derolez, Albert 37

Derrida, Jacques 197–8
Desmond, Karen 4, 9, 48, 49
*Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*
as opening hymn of Christmas and New Year clerics' Offices 104–8
as opening of *liber motettorum* 100–1, 108–19
different melodic tradition from Switzerland 103, 107–8
monophonic versions 103–8
polyphonic settings of *mise en page* 109–10
polyphonic transmission
*Deus in adiutorum intende I* 108–13
*Deus in adiutorum intende II* 113–118
text 102
*Deus in adiutorium meum intende*
conflation with its trope, *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* 101
in books of hours 67, 101
Diessen 110
digital images
study of 33, 54, 55
Dillon, Emma 100–2, 122, 131, 134, 283
directed progressions
concepts of tendency and resolution 235, 242
discant 111, 186, 189, 206, 233–4
application of *ficta* 236–7
contrary motion 234, 235, 243
rules 234–6
theoretical manuals 234–5, 205–6
voice-crossing 236, 265
voice-leading 158, 236, 237, 240, 241, 247, 248, 253
*Discantus positio vulgaris* 186, 204, 205, 234
discord
*see* dissonance
dissonance 199, 201, 241, 246 n.30, 247, 248 n.32
Dittmer, Luther 21
Dominicans
convent of Wimpfen 110
house of studies in Paris 110
convent of Soest in Westphalia 112
*see also* Belleville Breviary
dots of division
*see punctus divisionis*
Dyer, Louise
correspondence with Thurston Dart 284–92
her *Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre* 284–6, 289, 288

Easter Triduum 274, 281
Easter Vigil 275, 276, 277, 281
*Exultet* 276
*Lumen Christi* 276
*Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre*
*see* Dyer, Louise
Egidius de Murino
on motet tenor selection 269
English musical characteristics 21–4, 127, 127 n. 18, 130 n. 25, 156–7, 196
assonant (or shared-text) openings 21, 156
opening melismas 23–4
*pes* tenors 156
voice-exchange 21–2, 124–5, 127–8, 148, 155, 156, 194–5
*entitio* 5, 193–6
etymology 193 n. 39
*Epiphaniam Domino*, plainchant
sequence for Epiphany 125, 126, 134, 136
Epiphany, Feast of the 8, 105, 124–36, 195, 278
*see also under* clerics' Offices
*estampie* 29
Eulogy of the Bees 276–7
Everist, Mark 4, 6, 8, 34, 41, 118, 147
*Exultet* 276
*see also* Easter Vigil

**F** 7, 7 n. 27, 112–113, 121
Fassler, Margot 129
**Fauv** (*Roman de Fauvel*)
artists and decoration 75, 85, 86
chronology relative to **Mo** 8 16, 30–1, 85
motet layout in 94, 96
motet tenor designation 99
notation 8, 150
novelty 158
'old-style' motets 158
production 7
Feast of Fools
and the *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* 105–6, 108
celebration in Cambrai 113
social context 105
fire/flame
*see* fire rites in Tenebrae *under* Tenebrae
Fontaines, Godefoid de
*see* Godefroid de Fontaines
Fournival, Richard de
*see* Richard de Fournival
fragments, manuscript
*see under* **Cambrai**, **Da**, Soest conductus fragments
Franco of Cologne 146, 162 n.3, 184–7, 205–6, 233
citations in *Ars cantus mensurabilis musicae* 19–20
on concords and discords 233, n. 3
*see also* notation, Franconian
Franconian notation
*see* notation, Franconian
Fribourg/Freiburg, Switzerland
manuscripts from 103, 107, 119

Fulbert of Chartres 129, 255, 257 n.18
Fuller, Sarah 106, 234–5

Gace Brulé 211 n.2
Garlandia, Johannes de
*see* Johannes de Garlandia
Ghent 53, 75, 77
Godefroid de Fontaines 117
Göllner, Marie Louise 110
Grau, Anna Kathryn 8, 9, 49
'Great Books' tradition
*see under Magnus liber*
Grocheio, Johannes de
*see* Johannes de Grocheio
Grochowska, Katarzyna 121
Guillaume de Julémont
Abbot of Abbey of St Jacques, Liège 117–118
Guillaume de Machaut 114 n. 84, 271 n. 7, 295
Guillelmus de Sarzano
*De potestate Summi Pontificis* 116
Günther, Ursula 103, 114, 115

Halle, Adam de la
*see* Adam de la Halle
Handlo, Robertus de
*see* Robertus de Handlo
Hanna, Ralph 52
Handschin, Jacques 23, 128, 157
Harper, John 101
Harris, Max 105, 106
Heinrich II, Bishop of Regensburg 110
Henri de Mondeville
*Chirugie* (Surgery Compendium) 75, 76
hocket 184–8, 192, 195, 261, 265, 267
and tempo 204, 205
as technique in English motets 21–2, 127 n. 18
by 'a certain Spaniard' (*quidam Hispanus*) 186, 188
IN SECULUM hockets 109, 187, 186–7, 188
tenor 187
*le hoket Gallice* 186–7
Holy Cross 112, 271 n. 10, 278–82
*Alleluia Dulce lignum*, plainchant for the Feasts of 238, 278–80
Feasts of 278–81
Holy Saturday Matins
*see under* Tenebrae
Honoré, Master
*see* Master Honoré
Hoppin, Richard 115
hymn, plainchant
*see In te Christi credentium*

illumination
*see* manuscript illustration
*In te Christi credentium*, plainchant hymn 102
innovation
rhythmic language
*see under* motets, rhythmic language; musical style; notation
instrumental music 28–9, 140, 162, 169–70
Ispania, Jacobus de
*see* Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*

Jacobsthal, Gustav 34
Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*
on *cadentia* 235
on tempo 146 n.13, 150, 204, 205
on the style of Petrus de Cruce 5 n. 18, 161, 162, 172 n.26, 179, 180 n.41, 183
Jacobus de Ispania
*see* Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*
Jacques de Liège
*see* Jacobus, author of *Speculum musicae*
Jean Pucelle 66 n.3, 75, 77 n. 18, 87
Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre
Hours of, *see* BnF n.a.l. 3145
Jerome of Moravia
edition of *Discantus positio vulgaris* 186
Jewish origin of Mary 258, 260
Jews, conversion of 278
Johannes Boen 235
Johannes de Garlandia
on *color* 234, 246
on concords and discords 233, 241
on *organum purum* 206
on rhythmic modes 185–6, 189–90
Johannes de Garlandia (the younger) 172, n. 26
Johannes de Grocheio
audience for motets 136, 271 n. 6
on *cantilena entata* 193, n. 39
on the term tenor 99, n. 37
John Beleth
*Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 104–5
Jones, Nancy 124
Julémont, Guillaume de
*see* Guillaume de Julémont

Klangschritt-Lehre
*see* discant *under* manuals
Kügle, Karl 114, 118

Lambertus 146, 153, 172, 185–6
Lamentations of Jeremiah 273–4
exegesis of 274 n.15
Laon
manuscripts from 103, 105, 106
*le hoket Gallice*
*see under* hocket

Le Mans Bible 71, 74
Le Puy
manuscripts from 103, 106
le Viser, Petrus
*see* Petrus le Viser
Leach, Elizabeth Eva 157, 256
lectern
eagle at Notre-Dame 79
folding 2, 66, 68, 70–1, 75, 79
non-folding 68, 71
*lectio difficilior* 19, 115
Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel 158, 292
Lefferts, Peter M. 157, 158, 161, 163, 196
Lerch, Irmgard 113, 114
*liber hymnorum* (Irish)
containing *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium* trope 102
*liber motettorum* 1–4, 7, 8, 14–15, 88, 90, 100–1, 109, 110, 111, 113, 116, 118, 121–3
organization, alphabetical 14–15, 112–113
organization, by (Church) mode 121, 122
organization, by relative popularity 121–3
organization, chiastic arrangement 131, 133–5
organization, opening pieces 100–2, 108–19
*liber organicus* 111
*see also Magnus liber*; organum
Liège
Benedictine Abbey of St Jacques at Liège 8, 113, 116–118, 116 n. 94
dissolution of the library of the Benedictine Abbey of St Jacques at Liège 116
ligatures
*see under* notation
light
symbolism of in Tenebrae rites
*see under* Tenebrae
Little Office for the Virgin 274, 276
liturgical drama
performances during the seasons of Advent, Christmas, Ephiphany 126–7, 126 n.15, 136
*see also under* Advent; Christmas
*longi modi*
*see under* rhythmic modes
Louis IX, King of France (St Louis) 70, 70 n.6
canonization of 83
miniatures of 87, 88 n.32
Office for 83
Louis X le Hutin
*see* Louis X, King of France
Louis X, King of France 71
love
impact on musical (Petronian) style 181–3, 196, 208
*see also under* motet texts, themes
Low Countries
manuscripts from 53, 113–118
Ludwig, Friedrich 13, 17, 25, 114, 115, 145, 184, 187
*Lumen Christi* 276
*see also* Easter Vigil

Machaut, Guillaume de
*see* Guillaume de Machaut
Magister Lambertus
*see* Lambertus
*Magnus liber* 254–5
languishing of 'Great books' tradition 7
Malmedy
manuscripts from 96 n. 22, 114
manuscript decoration
basketweave pattern 81, 83, 84, 86, 87
birds 68, 79, 80, 109
coal tit 66
goldfinch 66
redstart 68
dog/greyhound 66, 68, 75, 79, 80, 84, 85
dragon 68, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87
extenders 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86
hare/rabbit 66, 68, 75, 79, 81, 84, 85
human hybrids 80, 81, 83
other animals (lions, snails) 79
stag 80, 84
manuscript fragments
*see under* **Cambrai**, **Da**, Soest conductus fragments
manuscript illustration
grisaille 75
historiated initials
*see under* manuscript initials
lectern
*see under* lectern
miniatures, monks singing 101–2
miniatures, nuns 101–2
modelling
drapery 81
faces 84, 86
pair of lovers 71, 80
poet/composer 80
Song of Songs 71
throne of Mercy 71
Trinity images 71
two persons and dove 71
Virgin and Child 71, 73, 74, 79, 80
manuscript initials
decorated initials 39, 101, 118
historiated initials 2, 66–77, 78–80, 81, 83, 86, 87, 88 n. 36, 118
puzzle initials 109, 112
manuscript production
Low Countries 53, 113–118

outside Paris 23 n. 36, 52–3, 77
*see also under* Paris
manuscripts
binding fragments 109, 110, 112 n.69, 113, 114, 155 n.36
dedication notes 111
devotional use 8, 66, 110–111, 123, 124, 131–6
manuscripts of polyphony
organization
*see under* **Mo**; **Mo** fascicle 8
*see also liber motettorum*
production, changes in 7–8
Marchetto da Padova
*Pomerium* 235
Marian antiphons
*see under* Virgin Mary
Marie de Brabant 70 n.6
Mascarenas, Oscar 197–8, 201
Maschke, Eva M. 8, 112
Master Honoré 67 n.3, 73 n.9, 75, 83
Maw, David 9, 197
medievalism 294
melodic figurations 165–71, 199–205
melodic formulae 197–202
*ménestrel* 29
**Mo**
binding 2, 78–9
dating
*see under* **Mo** fascicle 7; **Mo** fascicle 8; **Mo** fascicles 2–6 ('old corpus')
foliation 2, 53, 78, 78 n.4
gathering structure 45, 45 n. 48
organization (by genre) and contents 14–15
page trimming 2–3, 53, 78
Parisian origins 4, 24–7, 52–4
scribes, number of 34–5
**Mo** fascicle 7
dating/relative chronology 1, 3, 5, 13–15, 31, 53–4, 75, 79, 80–1, 179–81
manuscript decoration, initials, illustration 75, 75 n. 14, 80–1
pricking 80, 94–5
supplements to 1 n. 3, 2 n. 6, 16, 21, 25, 28, 31, 96
supplements to, artist 54, 75, 75 n. 14
**Mo** fascicle 8
artist of historiated initial 2, 4, 8, 53–4, 66–77, 79, 88
audience, readers, and function 8, 54, 100, 122, 123, 131–6, 157
compilers(s) 2, 3, 4, 15, 52, 109, 111, 124, 136, 139, 157, 181
concordances 3, 4, 5, 17–24, 92–4, 105, 113–118, 122 n.5, 145, 201, 211–212
concordances within **Mo** 3–4, 6, 19–20, 92–3, 123–4, 176–8
copying clusters 49, 49 n. 61, 51–2, 122–4, 135–6
dating/relative chronology 1, 4–6, 13, 15–16, 31, 32–4, 41, 53–4, 75, 77, 88, 94, 179–81
devotional use 8, 110–111, 123, 124, 131–6
exemplars 3, 4, 48–52, 96–9, 122–4, 135–6
layout and *mise en page* 3, 4, 15, 50, 80–1, 90–9, 134, 139
manuscript decoration/illustration/initials 1–2, 66–89, 118–119
marginal directions/annotations 124, 126
organizational principles 122–3
chiastic 131, 133–5
lack of
*see under* **Mo** fascicle 8, repertorial heterogeneity
opening piece
*see under Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*
performance 9, 25, 54, 108, 122, 123, 126, 133 n.28, 133–4, 136, 147, 165, 168, 171, 197–8, 201, 204, 271, 281, 206–10
provenance 4, 53, 75, 77, 88, 94, 157–8
relationship to **Mo** fascicles 2–6 1, 2, 3, 13–16, 33–5, 100
musical style and compositional practices 152–3, 184, 187–8, 189, 192–3, 196, 199, 211
relationship to **Mo** fascicle 7 5, 29, 50, 75, 80–1, 92–3, 179–81, 184, 253, 267–8
repertoire origins
Arras 26–7
England 3, 4, 21–4, 52, 127 n. 18, 157–8, 256 n. 11
Orléans 52
Paris 4, 24–7, 52–4
repertorial heterogeneity 1, 6, 10, 16–17, 48 n. 57, 139, 157
retrospective rationale 6–7, 8, 139, 177
text hand 32–55
copying stints (and changes of hand) 45–52
decorative features 39–41, 44
irregularities 43
letter forms 36–9
unica in 3, 7, 17–20, 122, 124 n.10, 145, 152 n. 23, 161
**Mo** fascicle 8 motets
*see under* motets
**Mo** fascicles 2–6 ('old corpus')
dating 1, 13–14, 152
main text hand 44–5
motet style 128, 152–3, 184, 199, 211
organizational principles, by genre 14–15, 121–2

**Mo**, fol. 1r
historiated initial 6–8, 70, 79, 118–119
opening piece (*Deus in aditorium intende I*) 108–13
**Mo**, fol. 5v
historiated initial 71, 73, 79, 80
**Mo**, fol. 270r
historiated initials 80
**Mo**, fol. 350r
historiated initial 2, 66–8, 70–1, 75, 77, 78–9, 118–119
opening piece (*Deus in aditorium intende II*) 113–118
modal rhythm
*see* rhythmic modes
modes
*see* rhythmic modes
*modi recti*
*see under* rhythmic modes
*modi ultra mensuram*
*see under* rhythmic modes
Mondeville, Henri de
*see* Henri de Mondeville
Moniot de Paris 211, n. 2
monotextual motet
*see* conductus motet
*mores*
*mos longus, mos lascivus* 150, 195
motet book
*see liber motettorum*
motet collection
*see liber motettorum*
*motet enté* 55 n. 90, 122 n. 6, 193 n. 39
motet style
accompanied triplum style 152–153
assonant (or shared text in upper voices) openings 21, 156
old-fashioned (archaic) 48, 128, 139, 145, 153, 158, 173 n. 30
rhythmically stratified 141, 147, 149, 152, 154, 157, 162 n.5, 184
voice exchange 21–2, 124–5, 127–8, 148, 155, 156, 194–5, 206, 258
motet tenors
chanson 29–30, 139, 146–7, 154, 155–6, 216, 219, 221–3, 226
paratext
with only the word 'tenor' 97–9, 98 n.31, 140
plainchant
BALAAM and HUIC MAGI 125–6, 134–6, 148
CERNERE 130–1
PORTARE/SUSTINERE 233–53, 278 n.35, 278–80
SOLEM 9, 129–31, 134–5, 254–68
unidentified in **Mo** 8,304 267–82
relationship to upper voices
*see under* motet texts, troping
street cry
*see under* Paris, medieval street cries of
vernacular/'instrumental'
CHOSE TASSIN and CHOSE LOYSET 28–9, 162
motet texts
genre
*chanson de rencontre* 212, 219, 223
*pastourelle à refrain* 212
imagery
Christ, Nativity of 127, 278, 285
darkness and symbolism of 274–81
light and symbolism of 129–32, 256, 276–8
Magi 126–7, 130, 134, 195
Milky Way 256, 257
nightingale 221–2
rod of Jesse 128, 129, 134
star of Jacob 126, 127, 129, 131, 134, 135
thorn 256–7
Virgin Mary
as rose 256, 257, 258
as star (of the sea) 129, 130, 132, 256
in Flemish 113
in middle high German 110
techniques
anaphora 257
themes
break between Mary and *Judea* 257
Christ as *solem justicie* (sun of justice) 129–30, 132, 134, 256, 258, 270, 275 n. 17, 277– 8
courtly 25, 26, 28, 128, 129, 133, 134–5, 223, 261, 265
Marian interpretation of 128–9, 133–5, 265–7
*courtoisie*
loyalty 216, 221
mercy 212, 213, 219, 221, 264, 267
pain/suffering 221–3, 262
praise for the lady 216, 221
love 133, 135, 207–8, 212–26, 261–8, 279–80
Paris
*see under* Paris, named in motets
Robin and Marot 122 n. 6, 153 n. 27, 212, 216, 280 n. 44
spring 212–216
street cries/fruit vendors
*see under* Paris, medieval street cries of
trembling 181–3, 220, 221, 222
urban life 24–5, 283–4, 292, 295
Virgin Mary 17–19, 26, 27, 125, 128, 133, 134, 154, 265, 269–82

Virgin Mary, Assumption of 269–71, 276–8
troping 17, 22, 128, 131–5, 280–2
motets
double motet
French
manuscript groups 14, 16 n.9, 121, 123
on PORTARE tenor 233–53
stylistic groups 145–8, 150, 153, 158
Latin 6, 7, 14, 21, 121, 145, 154, 158, 233
for confraternities 24–8
function, devotional/paraliturgical 131–6
impact of musical register 238, 242, 253, 254, 258, 264, 265, 267
intrageneric quotations of 6, 9, 94 n. 12, 211–26
layout 80–1, 90–9
medieval performance of 125–6, 197–210, 271 n.6
music-text relationships 172–6, 181–3, 206–10, 216–219, 221–6, 254–68
polytextuality 34, 147, 254, 267, 283–4
rhythmic language 139–96
*see also* compositional processes, compositional techniques
**MüB**
provenance 19
**MüC**
compilation, dedication, and ownership 110–111
geographic origins 110
position of *Deus in adiutorium intende I* 110–111
Murino, Edigius de
*see* Egidius de Murino
music-text relationships
*see under* motets
*Musica Reservata* 283, 292–4, 296
musical style
*Ars antiqua* 9, 30, 115, 135, 196, 199–205
*Ars nova* 5, 9, 30, 115, 150, 158, 182, 184, 196, 210
contrapuntal writing 176–8
Franconian 162–5, 172, 206–8
improvisatory 165–71, 197–210
innovation in 7, 139, 161, 172–6, 180–3, 195–6, 225–6
*see also* innovation
Petronian 139–83
emergence of 172–3
in English sources 153–8, 168 n. 16
to depict love 181–3, 208

Nativity of Virgin Mary
Feast of 125, 129, 131, 133, 134, 136, 255–8, 267
neuma
for the eighth mode (*Octo sunt beatitudines*), plainchant 271–2
New Fire rite
*see* fire rites in Tenebrae *under* Tenebrae
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 819
duplication of compositions in 124
notation
breves
binary division of 150
*coniuncturae* 140, 146, 205–6
*currentes* 140
Franconian 162–5, 172, 206–8
house style 197–8
innovation 5, 181, 185, 195–6
ligatures
*c.o.p.* 140, 146 n. 10
interpretation of mensural ligatures 205–6
variation between sources 115, 199
mensural 7 n. 27, 14 n. 5, 184, 205–6
modal 6, 7 n. 27, 172 n. 28, 173–4, 184–5, 191
*see also* rhythmic modes
of unmeasured rhythms 205–6, 210
Petronian 5, 8, 131, 141, 149, 154, 157–8, 161–76, 184, 206–10
post-Franconian 5, n. 5
rests 186–7, 189
*see also entitio*; *mores*; *resecatio*; semibreves
Notre-Dame Cathedral
acoustics of 287, 288, 289, 291
liturgical practices 79
organ 288
veneration of the Virgin 281
anthology manuscripts 7, 111–112
Notre-Dame repertoire
dissemination 110
manuscript layout 90
recordings of 284–5, 286–92
manuscript ordering and opening pieces 111–113
*see also* organum; clausula; and *Magnus liber organi*
novelty
*see under* musical style, innovation
Nuremberg Hours 81–2

*ochetus*
*see* hocket
Odington, Walter
*see* Walter Odington
Office
Little Office of the Virgin 274, 276
Night Office of Matins 101
Office of the Dead 273, 274
*see also* clerics' Offices

Office Hours
  changes in times of 273–4
old corpus
  *see* **Mo** fascicles 2–6
Oliver, Judith 16, 117
**Onc** 153–8, 168
opening conductus, *liber motettorum*
  *see under Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*
opening piece, *liber motettorum*
  *see under Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*
opening versicle, books of hours
  *see under Deus in adiutorium meum intende*
*ordo, ordines* 141, 145, 146 n.11, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194
organum 7, 9, 13, 14 n.5, 110–113, 129 n. 22, 130, 170, 189, 197–9, 254–5
  flexible performance style 170, 197–9, 205–6

palaeographical features
  hairstrokes 39–41
  *littera notabilior* 39
  *see under* **Mo** fascicle 8, text hand
  *see under* **Mo** fascicles 2–6 ('old corpus')
palaeography
  methodological pitfalls 35, 51
paraliturgical
  *see under* manuscripts, devotional use
paratext
  *see under* motet tenors
Paris
  Church of St-Germain l'Auxerrois 52
  compositional activity in 4, 24–7, 31, 43, 162 n.3, 186 n. 13
  Dominican house of studies in 110
  liturgical celebrations in 79, 104–5, 136
  manuscript depictions of 84
  manuscript production 15, 32 n.1, 42 n.39, 52–3, 75, 78–9, 81, 83, 84, 86, 88, 111
    **Mo** 1, 4, 52–4, 73, 75, 77, 78, 88
    relative to other centres 23 n. 36, 75, 77
  manuscripts from 55–65, 66–8, 70–1, 73, 77 n.18, 78, 81, 83, 84, 86, 88, 271, 276, 79, 81, 83–6, 88
  medieval street cries of 9, 283–4, 292, 296
  named in motets 24–7, 283–4, 294, 296
  Sainte-Chapelle 81
  Theosophists' Hall 289, 290, 291
  *see also* Notre-Dame Cathedral
Paris, Moniot de
  *see* Moniot de Paris
Parkes, Malcolm B. 35
Parsoneault, Catherine 14
*pastourelle à refrain*, genre of motet text 212
*pausatio*
  *see under* notation, rests 186 n.13, 194
perfection
  as measure of musical time 190, 191, 205–6
performance
  *see under* **Mo** fascicle 8
performance practice
  acoustics 287–92
  alterity 294
  anthology recordings 285
  cathedral-inspired aesthetic 286–92, 295
  David Munrow 294–5
  folk influences 284, 293, 295, 296
  *haut* and *bas* 292, 293, 295, 296
  improvisatory 165, 169–70, 197–210
  Michael Morrow 292–4
  perceptions of medieval aesthetics 285, 293–4, 295–6
  percussion 285, 293
  *portamento* 285
  rhythmic drive 283, 293
  tempo 146–7, 204, 205, 285, 287, 292, 295
  Thurston Dart 287–8
  vibrato 285, 287–8, 292
  vocal timbre 287, 288, 289, 296
    nasal quality 288, 289, 296
  volume 288, 292
    *see also* performance practice, *haut* and *bas*
Pérotin (Perotinus) 184
*pes*
  *see* rhythmic modes, modal foot
Peter of Corbeil 105–6
Petronian motet
  chronology of 5–6, 179–81
  layout 80–1, 124 n. 11
  word setting
    florid/melismatic 165
    recitational 172, 174
    rhymes 174–6
    syllabic 20, 140–6, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152–3, 154–6, 158–9, 165, 168 n. 16, 172–6, 177, 180
Petronian notation
  *see* notation, Petronian
Petronian semibreves
  *see* semibreves, more than three per breve; notation, Petronian
Petrus de Cruce 5, 29, 111, 129, 158, 161–2, 165, 169 n.17, 172, 181
Petrus le Viser 150, 195
Pfändtner, Karl-Georg 110
Philip the Chancellor
  attributions to 117
Philippe de Vitry 24
Philippe III, King of France 70 n.6, 73

Philippe IV, King of France 71, 75, 81–2, 88
Bible of
*see* BnF lat. 248
Breviary
*See* BnF lat. 1023
Philippe le Bel
*see* Philippe IV, King of France
Philippe le Hardi
*see* Philippe III, King of France
Philippe V, King of France 88
wedding present (motet book) 88, 88 n.34
Pierre de la Croix
*see* Petrus de Cruce
plainchant
flexible transmission of 197–8
*see* Alleluia; hymn; neuma; Office; responsory; sequence; trope
*see under* motet tenors
*Plange quasi virgo*, plainchant responsory 270–6, 280–2
*plica*, *plicae* 115, 164
polyphonic manuscripts
*see* manuscripts of polyphony
polyphony
England 3, 4, 21–4, 127 n.18, 153–8
Low Countries 53, 113–118
Paris
*see under* Paris, compositional activity in
polytextuality
*see under* motets
Pomerio, Winricus de
*see* Winricus de Pomerio
prayer books
*see* private devotion
private devotion
*see under* manuscripts, devotional use
processions 70, 126 n. 15, 273 n. 10, 276
Psalm 50
*Domine labia ma aperies* 101
Psalm 69
*Deus in adiutorium meum intende* 67, 101
Psalm 97
*Cantate domino canticum novum* 66–7, 69, 70, 71, 79
Psalter of St Louis
*see* BnF lat. 10525
Pucelle, Jean
*see* Jean Pucelle
pulchritudo
*see color*, *see also under* Johannes de Garlandia
*punctus divisionis* 5 n. 19, 140, 146 n. 12, 149, 154, 156 n. 38, 176 n. 38, 210
*punctus organi* 205–6

Reaney, Gilbert 52–3
refrains 103, 106, 122 n.6, 154 n.32, 193 n.39, 211, 212–26, 261–7
Regensburg 110
*resecatio* 184–8, 189
responsory, plainchant
*see Plange quasi virgo*
rhetoric
in motets 264–8
rhythmic modes
binary metre 191, 192
binary version of mode 3 5, 195, 196
*breves modi* 187
defined by Johannes de Garlandia 185–6, 189–90
Garlandia's mode 6 185, 187
imperfect modes 186, 189–96
Lambertus's mode 6 153, 172
*longi modi* 186
modal foot 190–6
*modi recti* (modes 1, 2, 6) 185
*modi ultra mensuram* (modes 3, 4, 5) 185
perfect modes 189
Richard de Fournival 15, 162 n.5
Robertus de Handlo 150
Roesner, Edward H. 41, 122, 189, 206
Rokseth, Yvonne 13–14, 16–17, 29, 33, 34, 41, 52, 53, 78, 79, 100, 115, 199–201, 283–4
memorial album for 284–6, 295
reception of **Mo** edition 286–7, 289
rotulus
motet layout in 91, 96–7, 99
opening pieces 100, 111
Rouse, Richard and Mary A. 15, 55

Saint-Denis Master 67 n.4, 73–5
Sanders, Ernest H. 21, 23, 158, 161, 162, 163
Santa Barbara Bible 67, 67 n.4, 69
Sarum Antiphonal 271–2
Sarzano, Guillelmus de
*see* Guillelmus de Sarazano
semibreves
equal realization of 150
more than three per breve 157, 184, 187, 205, 255, 264–5, 267–8
texted 139, 140, 156, 208, 210, 233, 255
*see also* Petronian motet, word setting, syllabic
Sens 102, 103, 105–106
sequence, plainchant
*see Epiphaniam Domino*
Simmons, Eleanor 14
Sion/Sitten, Switzerland
manuscripts from 103, 107–8
Soest conductus fragments 112

Soest, Westphalia
  dedication of the Dominican convent of Soest to the Holy Cross 112
*solem justicie* (sun of justice)
  *see under* motet texts, themes
Song of Songs (Song of Solomon) 17, 19, 71, 116, 277, 280
Southern, Richard 22–3
St Andrews
  manuscript from, **W**$_1$ 112
St Augustine of Canterbury 154
  Abbey of 154
St Edward 154
St Katherine 71, 79, 154, 155
St Louis
  *see also* Louis IX, King of France
St Louis of Anjou
  canonization of 86
  Feast of 86
  miniatures of 88, n. 32
St Martial 106
St Martial manuscript (BnF lat. 1139) 106
St Thomas of Canterbury 154
Stary Saçz manuscript
  organization of pieces by (Church) mode 121–2
stemmatics 197–8, 199, 201
Stenzl, Jürg 127, 157
stereo recordings
  possibilities of 283, 288, 289, 291, 292, 295
Stirnemann, Patricia 15
Stones, Alison 4, 8, 14, 16, 33, 41, 53, 54, 55, 75 n. 14, 88, 139, 196
street cries
  *see under* Paris, medieval street cries of
style
  *see* musical style; motet style
subdeacons, feast of the
  *see* Feast of Fools
Supersaxo, Walther (Bishop)
  *see* Walther Supersaxo (Bishop)
*Synagogua* 278

*talea* 148 n.17, 237, 238, 242, 243, 244, 246, 250, 256, 261
*tempus, tempora*
  as measure of musical time 185–6
Tenebrae
  darkness, symbolism of in Tenebrae rites 274–6
  fire rites in Tenebrae 275–7
  Holy Saturday Matins 271–6
  light, symbolism of in Tenebrae rites 274–6
  liturgies and rites of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday Tenebrae 273–6
  nocturns 271, 274, 279 n.39
tenor
  *see under* motets
text-music relationships
  *see under* motets, music-text relationships
Tischler, Hans 123–4
tonality
  progressions, directed 235–7, 238, 240–8, 250–3
  progressions, implied 240, 247, 251 n.33
  progressions, lesser tendency 247, 249, 250, 251 n.33
  progressions, neutral 236, 242, 246 n.30
  sonority types 236
Tongres 117
**Tours** 153–8
Triduum
  *see* Easter Triduum
trope, plainchant
  *see Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium*
troping
  *see under* motet texts
**Tu**
  codicology of 116
  date and provenance 16 n.21, 113–114, 116–118
  motet layout 92, 94
  opening pieces 116–118
  relationship to **Br** 115
  relationship to **Mo** 8 5, 8, 16, 30, 94
Turin, Royal Library (Biblioteca Reale di Torino) 116

unica
  *see under* **Mo** fascicle 8

Vatican organum treatise 169–70, 198–201, 234
vernacular song
  *see under* motet tenors, chanson; motet texts, genre; motet texts, themes
versicle
  *see under Deus in adiutorium meum intende*
*Vie de Saint-Denis*
  *see* BnF 2090, 2091, 2092
Villetard, Henri 105–6
Virgin Mary
  as *Ecclesia* 278
  association with the Holy Cross 278–81
  devotion to 124, 128–131, 255–7, 267–8, 269–82
  in motet texts
    *see under* motet texts, themes; motet texts, imagery
  *Kontakion* 279
  Marian antiphons 274
  *Mater dolorosa* 279, 281

*Mater misericordie* 281
medieval cult of 279–81
*pietà* 279
*Planctus Mariae* 279
*Stabat mater* 279 n.38
suffering at the Crucifixion 279–80
*see also* Assumption; Nativity
*see also under* manuscript illustration
Vitry, Philippe de
*see* Philippe de Vitry

**W**$_1$ 7 n. 27, 112
**W**$_2$ 7 n. 27, 15, 68, 70, 71, 88 n. 36, 98 n. 31, 112–113, 118
Walloonia 113, 114–115, 118
Walter Odington 195
Walter of Châtillon
attributions to 117
Walther Supersaxo (Bishop)
Breviary for 104, 108, 120
Wilson, David 201–2, 204, 205, 208
Wimpfen fragments
*see* **Da**
Winricus de Pomerio 96, n. 22, 114 n. 18
Wolinski, Mary E. 2, 4, 5, 9, 14, 33, 34, 41, 49, 53, 122–3, 152, 153, 204, 205, 208
Wooldridge, Harry Ellis 284
Wright, Craig 110

# Index of compositions, alphabetical


*A Diu, comment cele/Por moi deduire/En non Diu/OMNES*, **Mo** 2,24 211
*A maistre Jehan lardier/Pour la plus jolie/ALLELUYA*, **Mo** 8,334 24–7, 141 n. 5, 142, 152, 159
*Ad veniam per veniam/TANQUAM*, Latin conductus motet and two-voice motet 112
*Ade fine perpete nephas/Ade finit misere delictum/A DEFINEMENT D'ESTÉ LERAY*, **Onc** 8 154 n. 32, 155, 156
*Alle psallite cum luya/Alle psallite cum luya/ALLELUYA*, **Mo** 8,339 17, 18, 21–3, 49 n. 63, 125, 127–8, 133–6, 143
*Alma virgo virginum/Benedicta es, Maria/[TENOR]*, **Mo** 8,304 9, 143, 269–82
*Amor potest conqueri/Ad amorem sequitur/TENOR*, **Mo** 8,328 45–52, 140, 142, 148, 156 n. 37, 160, 195–6
*Amourousement me tient/Hé, Amours, morrai je/OMNES*, **Mo** 5,76 211
*Amours dont je sui espris/L'autrier au douz mois d'avril, main me levai/CHOSE TASSIN*, **Mo** 7,270 28, 95 n. 17, 152 n. 24
*Amours m'a pris; deffendre ne me doi/Bien me maine bone Amour/RIENS NE VOUS VAUT*, **Mo** 8,333 143
*Amours, qui si me maistrie/Solem iusticie, leticie/SOLEM*, **Mo** 7,289 (= **Mo** 8,338) *see* **Mo** 8,338
*Amours, qui si me maistrie/Solem iusticie, leticie/SOLEM*, **Mo** 8,338 (= **Mo** 7,289) 9, 18, 92–4, 123–4, 125, 129–36, 142, 149, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172 n. 24, 173, 176–81, 255, 278 n. 32
*Anima mea liquefacta est/Descendi in [h]ortum meum/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]*, **Mo** 7,282 17, 19, 161
*Apta caro/Flos virginum/ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER*, Latin double motet 114
*Au cuer ai un mal/Ja ne m'en repentirai d'amer/JOLIETEMENT*, **Mo** 7,260 30, 201, 203
*Au tans nouvel, que naissent/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT*, **Mo** 8,312 (motetus = M901) 5 n. 22, 94 n. 12, 143, 146, 146 n. 12, 151, 152, 159, 211–212, 219–26, 228–30
*Aucun ont trouvé chant/Lonc tans me sui tenu/ANNUN[TIANTES]*, **Mo** 7,254 5 n. 18, 20, 96 n. 20, 140 n. 4, 149 n. 18, 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170, 172, 175, 176, 177 n. 39, 179–81, 208 n. 21
*Aucun se sont loé d'amours/A Dieu quemant amouretes/SUPER TE ORTA EST*, **Mo** 7,263 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
*Aucun, qui ne sevent servir/Iure tuis laudibus/[VIRGO] MARIA*, **Mo** 8,317 141, 142, 144, 149, 160, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 166–8, 170, 171, 172 n. 42, 172 n. 25, 174, 177, 179–81, 182, 206–10
*Aucuns vont souvent/Amor, qui cor vulnerat/KYRIE ELEYSON*, **Mo** 7,264 140 n. 4, 149 n. 18, 152 n. 24, 161
*Audi, mater generosa/Imperatrix potentis gracie/NEUMA*, **Mo** 8,308 143, 271 n. 8
*Ave, mundi gaudium/Ave, salus hominum/APTATUR. TENOR*, **Mo** 8,329 45–52

*Balam inquit vaticinans/Balam inquit vaticinans/BALLAAM*, **Mo** 8,340 18, 21–3, 124–7, 130 n. 25, 133–6, 142, 148, 151, 154, 156 n. 37, 157 n. 39, 160, 187, 194–6, 201
*Belle Aelis/Haro haro/FLOS FILIUS EIUS*, **Mo** 5,94 189
*Benedicta Marie virginis/Beate virginis/BENEDICTA. TENOR*, **Mo** 8,326 45–52, 97 n. 29, 143, 145, 156 n. 37
*Bien me doi sor toutes riens/Je n'ai, que que nus en die/KIRIE FONS*, **Mo** 7,262 (triplum = M611) 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24, 162 n. 5, 212–216, 218
*Bien met Amours son pooir/Dame, alegiés ma grevance/A PARIS*, **Mo** 7,291 (motetus = M885) 212–216
*Boine amours mi fait chanter/Uns maus savereus et dous/PORTARE*, **Mo** 7,296 233, 237–42, 253

*Caligo terre scinditur/Virgo mater et filia regis/TENOR*, **Onc** 10 154, 155, 157
*Cele m'a tolu la vie/Lonc tens a, que/ET SPERABIT*, **Mo** 5,78 (= M511 and M512) 211, 219–26
*Cis a petit de bien en li/Pluseur dient, que j'aim par amours/PORTARE*, **Mo** 8,335 142, 152 n. 24, 159, 246–53

*Civitas nusquam conditur/Tu es caelestis/CIBUS*, **Onc** 6 154–5
*Coument se poet nul tenir/Se je chante mains que ne suell/QUI PRENDOIT A SON CUER*, **Mo** 7,277 95 n. 17, 188, 191, 192, 196"

*Dame de valour et de bonté/Hé Dieus, quant je remir/AMO[RIS]*, **Mo** 7,281 (triplum = M363) 152 n. 24, 212–216, 217, 219
*Dame, que je n'os noumer/Amis, donc est engenree/LONC TANS A QUE NE VI M'AMIE*, **Mo** 8,337 124 n. 11, 143, 219
*De chanter me vient talens/Bien doi boine Amor loer/CHOSE TASSIN*, **Mo** 7,292 28, 162, 180
*De mes amours sui souvent repentis/L'autrier m'estuet venue volenté/DEFORS COMPIEGNE*, **Mo** 8,321 18, 98 n. 33, 143, 146, 146 n. 12, 152 n. 24, 159, 212
*De spineto rosa crescit/Virgo sancta Katherina/AGMINA*, **Onc** 12 155, 156
*Descendit de celis, organum triplum* 205–6
*Descendo Dominus/Ascendendo Dominus/DOMINO*, **Mo** 8,331 45–52, 143
*Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium I*, **Mo** 1,1 2, 68, 100–1, 108–13, 189
*Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium II*, **Mo** 8,303 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 18, 66–8, 100–1, 113–119
*Dieus, comment porrai laissier/O regina glorie/NOBIS CONCEDAS [VENIAM PER SECULA] O BENIGNA*, **Mo** 8,307 25–7, 98 n. 33, 142, 160
*Dieus, comment puet li cuers durer/Vo vair oel m'ont espris/TENOR*, **Mo** 8,314 140, 142, 160
*Dieus, qui porroit, quant il vodroit/En grant dolour, en grant paour/APTATUR*, **Mo** 7,278 191, 192, 196

*En mai, quant rosier florist/J'ai trouvé, qui m'amera/FIAT TENOR*, **Mo** 8,320 18, 92, 93, 143, 145, 201
*Entre Adan et Hanikel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR*, **Mo** 7,258, 25–8, 95 n. 16, 95 n.17, 95 n. 19, 152 n. 24, 211
*Entre Copin et Bourgois/Je me cuidoie tenir/BELE YSABELOS*, **Mo** 7,256 25–6, 95 n. 17, 96 n. 20, 152 n. 24
*Entre Jehan et Philippet/Nus hom ne puet desiervir/CHOSE TASSIN*, **Mo** 7,294 25–7, 28–9, 152 n. 24, 162, 163, 164, 166, 170, 180, 181

*Fraude ceca desolato*, polyphonic conductus 112

*Hé Dieus, de si haut si bas/Maubatus longuement pleure/CUMQUE*, **Mo** 5,92 (motetus = M707) 219–26
*Homo miserabilis/Homo luge/BRUMAS E MORS*, Latin double motet 110
*Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica/Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica/[HUIC MAGI]*, **Mo** 8,341 18, 21–3, 124–7, 130 n. 25, 133–6, 142, 148, 151, 154, 156 n. 37, 157 n. 39, 160, 187, 194–6, 201

*Iam nubes dissolvitur/Iam novum sydus oritur/SOLEM*, **Onc** 16 153 n.29, 154, 155, 168, 257 *see also* **Mo** 7,275
*Iam nubes dissolvitur/Iam novum sydus oritur/SOLEM*, **Mo** 7,275 95 n. 16, 129, 154, 255–61, 267–8, 278 n. 32
*In Bethleem Herodes/IN BETHLEEM*, Latin conductus motet and two-voice motet 187
*IN SECULUM* Three-voice Hocket, **Mo** 5,73 186–7, 196
*In sompnis, mira Dei nuncia monuerunt/Amours me commande et prie/IN SOMPNIS*, **Mo** 8,310 142, 148, 148 n. 17, 152, 152 n. 24, 156 n. 37, 160, 192

*J'ai mis toute ma pensee/Je n'en puis mais, se je ne chant/PUERORUM*, **Mo** 7,255 95 n. 17, 96 n. 20, 152 n. 25, 162 n. 5, 182 n. 45
*Ja n'amerai autre que/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 1,2 187
*Ja n'amerai autre que/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 1,3 188
*Ja n'amerai autre que/Sire Dieus, li soz maus m'ocit/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 5,137 187
*Je cuidoie bien metre/Se j'ai folement amé/SOLEM*, **Mo** 8,332 187, 188, 143, 255, 261–8
*Je ne puis, amie, les maus/Flor de lis, rose espanie/DOUCE DAME, QUE J'AIM TANT* (Tenor in **Ba**: *PROH DOLOR*), **Mo** 5,164 152 n. 26, 191–2

*L'autre jour me chevauchoie/L'autrier, joiant et joli/VILAIN LIEVE SUS O*, **Mo** 8,313 143, 146 n. 11
*L'autre jour par un matient/Hier matinet trouvai/ITE MISSA EST*, **Mo** 7,261 95 n. 17
*La bele estoile de mer/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE. TENOR*, **Mo** 8,345 3, 6, 17–20, 92, 93, 94, 124 n. 10, 143

*La mesnie fauveline qui a maufere/J'ai fait nouvelement amie/GRANT DESPIT AI JE FORTUNE DE FAUVEL*, **Fauv** motet 94 n.12, 221
*Lasse! Comment oublieray/Se j'aim mon loyal ami/POUR QUOY ME BAT MES MARIS?*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut 295
*Li doz maus m'ocit/Trop ai lonc tens/Ma loiautés/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 2,28 211
*Li savours de mon desir/Li grant desirs, qui j'ai de recouvrer/NON VEUL MARI*, **Mo** 8,323 45–52, 92 n. 7, 141 n. 5, 143
*Lonc tans ai atendu le mierchi/Tant ai souffert en amant/SURREXIT*, **Mo** 7,298 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172 n. 29, 174 n. 33, 180, 181
*Lux hodie, lux, laetitiae*, monophonic song 106

*Ma loiauté m'a nuisi/A la bele Yzabelet/O[MNES]*, **Mo** 5,176 211
*Marie assumptio/Huius chori suscipe cantica/TENOR*, **Mo** 8,322 22, 23 n. 35, 45–52, 142, 147 n. 15, 152 n. 24, 159
*Mout ai longuement Amour/Li dous maus d'amer/PORTARE*, **Mo** 8,305 142, 149, 160, 161, 237–8, 242–6, 253, 280 n. 43
*Mout me fu grief li departir/Robin m'aime, Robin m'a/PORTARE*, **Mo** 7,265 95 n. 16, 211
*Mout me fu gries li departir/In omni fratre tuo/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 3,37 152 n. 26, 211

*Nouvele amour m'a saisi/Haute amor m'a assalli/HÉ DAME JOLIE*, **Mo** 7,290 95 n. 17, 152 n. 24

*O castitatis lilium/Assumpta in gloria/KYRIELEISON*, **Mo** 8,344 143
*O crux ave spes unica*, conductus 112
*O presul eximie/O virtutis speculum/SACERDOTEM*, **Mo** 8,306 142, 152, 159
*On parole de batre et de vanner/A Paris soir et matin/FRESE NOUVELE MURE FRANCE MURE MURE FRANCE*, **Mo** 8,319 9, 26, 98 n. 33, 142, 148, 160, 283–96
*Or ne sai je que devenir/Puisque d'amer sui desirrans/[ELEISON]*, **Mo** 7,267 189
*Or voi je bien, qu'il mi/Eximium decus virginum/VIRGO*, **Mo** 7,273 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
*Orientis partibus*, monophonic song and polyphonic conductus 106

*Par une matinee, el moys joli d'avril/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART*, **Mo** 8,309 (triplum = M896) 6 n. 24, 18, 94, 98 n. 33, 143, 211–219, 222, 223, 226, 227
*Par une matinee/Melli[s] stilla/DOMINO*, **Mo** 3,40 (triplum = M807) 152 n. 26, 153 n. 27, 212–217
*Parce virgo spes reorum*, conductus 117
*Per omnia secula seculorum, Maria/Per omnia seculorum, secula virgo/PER OMNIA SECULA*, **Mo** 8,327 45–52, 143, 156 n. 38
*Porta preminentie/Porta penitentie/PORTAS*, **Mo** 8,315 23, 193, 143, 156 n. 37, 193, 278 n. 32
*Porta salutis ave*, conductus 112
*PORTARE* Three-voice Hocket, **Mo** 1,5 187
*Pour chou que j'aim ma dame/Li joli tans, que je voi revenir/KYRIELEISON*, **Mo** 7,299 20, 96 n. 25, 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165 n. 11, 166, 170, 172 n. 24, 172 n. 25, 174 n. 34, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180 n. 42, 181, 183
*Povre secors ai encore recovré/Gaude chorus omnium/ANGELUS*, **Mo** 3,39 152 n. 26, 188, 196
*Puisqu'en amer loiaument me sui mis/Quant li jolis tans doit entrer/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 8,336 18, 92 n. 2, 143, 145 n. 6

*Quant che vient en mai/Mout ai esté long[u]ement/CHOSE LOYSET*, **Mo** 7,297 28, 152 n. 24, 162 n. 5, 162, 180
*Quant en moy vint premierement/Amour et biaute parfait/AMARA VALDE*, motet by Guillaume de Machaut 171 n.7, 271 n. 7
*Quant se depart li jolis tans/Hé, cuer joli!/IN SECULUM*, **Mo** 8,324 45–52, 92 n. 7, 143, 145 n. 6, 187
*Quant vient en mai, k'erbe va/Ne sai, que je die, tant voi/IOHANNE*, **Mo** 7,274 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
*Qui amours veut maintenir/Li dous pensers, qui me vient/CIS A CUI JE SUI AMIE*, **Mo** 7,280 (motetus = M881) 95 n. 15, 212–216, 218, 219
*Qui d'amours n'a riens gousté/Tant me plaist Amour servir/VIRGA YESSE*, **Mo** 8,342 49 n. 63, 92 n. 7, 125, 128–9, 133–6, 142, 147, 148, 152 n. 24, 159
*Quoniam [Aman] novi probatori exitu/Heu! Fortuna subdola/HEU ME! TRISTIS EST ANIMA MEA*, **Fauv** motet 96

*S'Amours eüst point de poer/Au renouveler du joli tans/ECCE [IAM]*, **Mo** 7,253 96 n. 20, 140 n.4, 149 n. 18, 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172, 177, 179–81, 182
*S'on me regarde/Prennés i garde/HÉ, MI ENFANT*, **Mo** 8,325 6 n. 24, 45–52, 143, 147 n. 14
*Salvatoris hodie*, conductus 70, 112
*Salve, virgo virginum, salve, sancta parens/Salve, sancta parens/OMNES*, **Mo** 7,300 22, 23 n. 35
*Sans penser folour ai servi/Quant la saisons desirée/QUI BIEN AIME, A TART OUBLIE*, French double motet (triplum = M890) 6, 219–26
*Se je chante, ce fait Amour/Bien doi amer mon ami/ET SPERABIT*, **Mo** 8,311 5 n. 22, 98 n. 32, 142, 149, 160, 161, 187, 188, 192
*Se je sui liés et chantans/Jolietement/OMNES*, **Mo** 8,316 142, 149, 160, 161, 162 n. 5, 193, 211
*Sovent me fait souspirer/En grant esfroi sui sovent/MULIERUM*, **Mo** 5,83 (motetus = M374) 219–26
*Super cathedram moysi latitat/Presidentes in thronis seculi/RUINA*, **Fauv** motet 96
*Theoteca virgo geratica/Las, pour qoi l'eslonge tant/QUI PRANDOIT*, **Mo** 7,302 96 n. 25, 152 n. 24, 188, 196
*Tout solas et toute joie/Bone Amour, qui les siens doctrine et aprent/NE ME BLASMES MIE*, **Mo** 8,318 6 n. 24, 18, 30, 92, 93, 143, 147 n. 14
*Toutes voies m'a amours assa[l]li/Trop ai de grieté pour cheli/JE LA TRUIS TROP ASPRETE*, **Mo** 7,295 189
*Tres joliement me voell/Imperatrix supernorum/CIS A CUI JE SUI AMIE*, **Mo** 7,272 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
*Triumphat hodie Christi miles/Trop est fol ky me bayle sa femme/SI, SI QE LA NUIT*, **Onc** 3 154, 155, 156
*Tuba sacre dei/In arboris/VIRGO SUM*, motet attrib. to Philippe de Vitry 24

*Virginale decus et presidium/Descendi in [h]ortum meum/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]*, **Mo** 8,330 17–19, 22, 45–52, 93, 94, 142, 149, 160, 161, 162 n. 5
*Virginis eximie celebrantur/N[o]stra salus oritur/CERNERE*, **Mo** 8,343 22, 23 n. 35, 125, 130–6, 143, 278 n. 32

# Index of compositions in **Mo**, manuscript order


**Mo** 1,1: *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium I* 2, 68, 100–1, 108–13, 189
**Mo** 1,2: *Ja n'amerai autre que/IN SECULUM* 187
**Mo** 1,3: *Ja n'amerai autre que/IN SECULUM* 188
**Mo** 1,5: *PORTARE* Three-voice Hocket 187
**Mo** 2,24: *A Diu, commant cele/Por moi deduire/En non Diu/OMNES* 211
**Mo** 2,28: *Li doz maus m'ocit/Trop ai lonc tens/Ma loiautés/IN SECULUM* 211
**Mo** 3,37: *Mout me fu gries li departir/In omni fratre tuo/IN SECULUM* 152 n. 26, 211
**Mo** 3,39: *Povre secors ai encore recovré/Gaude chorus omnium/ANGELUS* 152 n. 26, 188, 196
**Mo** 3,40 (triplum = M807): *Par une matinee/Melli[s] stilla/DOMINO* 152 n. 26, 153 n. 27, 212–217
**Mo** 5,73: *IN SECULUM* Three-voice Hocket 186–7, 196
**Mo** 5,76: *Amourousement me tient/Hé, Amours, morrai je/OMNES* 211
**Mo** 5,78 (= M511 and M512): *Cele m'a tolu la vie/Lonc tens a, que/ET SPERABIT* 211, 219–26
**Mo** 5,83 (Motetus = M374): *Sovent me fait souspirer/En grant esfroi sui sovent/MULIERUM* 219–26
**Mo** 5,92 (Motetus = M707): *Hé Dieus, de si haut si bas/Maubatus longuement pleure/CUMQUE* 219–26
**Mo** 5,94: *Belle Aelis/Haro haro/FLOS FILIUS EIUS* 189
**Mo** 5,137: *Ja n'amerai autre que/Sire Dieus, li soz maus m'ocit/IN SECULUM* 187
**Mo** 5,164: *Je ne puis, amie, les maus/Flor de lis, rose espanie/DOUCE DAME, QUE J'AIM TANT* (Tenor in **Ba**: PROH DOLOR) 152 n. 26, 191–2
**Mo** 5,176: *Ma loiauté m'a nuisi/A la bele Yzabelet/O[MNES]* 211
**Mo** 7,253: *S'Amours eüst point de poer/Au renouveler du joli tans/ECCE [IAM]* 96 n. 20, 140 n.4, 149 n. 18, 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172, 177, 179–81, 182
**Mo** 7,254: *Aucun ont trouvé chant/Lonc tans me sui tenu/ANNUN[TIANTES]* 5 n. 18, 20, 96 n. 20, 140 n. 4, 149 n. 18, 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170, 172, 175, 176, 177 n. 39, 179–81, 208 n. 21
**Mo** 7,255: *J'ai mis toute ma pensee/Je n'en puis mais, se je ne chant/PUERORUM* 95 n. 17, 96 n. 20, 152 n. 24, 162 n. 5, 182 n. 45
**Mo** 7,256: *Entre Copin et Bourgois/Je me cuidoie tenir/BELE YSABELOS* 25–6, 95 n. 17, 96 n. 20, 152 n. 24
**Mo** 7,258: *Entre Adan et Hanikel/Chief bien seantz/APTATUR* 25–8, 95 n. 16, 95 n.17, 95 n. 19, 152 n. 24, 211
**Mo** 7,260: *Au cuer ai un mal/Ja ne m'en repentirai d'amer/JOLIETEMENT* 30, 201, 203
**Mo** 7,261: *L'autre jour par un matinet/Hier matinet trouvai/ITE MISSA EST* 95 n. 17
**Mo** 7,262 (triplum = M611): *Bien me doi sor toutes riens/Je n'ai, que que nus en die/KIRIE FONS* 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24, 162 n. 5, 212–216, 18
**Mo** 7,263: *Aucun se sont loé d'amours/A Dieu quemant amouretes/SUPER TE ORTA EST* 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
**Mo** 7,264: *Aucuns vont souvent/Amor, qui cor vulnerat/KYRIE ELEYSON* 140 n. 4, 149 n. 18, 152 n. 24, 161
**Mo** 7,265: *Mout me fu grief li departir/Robin m'aime, Robin m'a/PORTARE* 95 n. 16, 211
**Mo** 7,267: *Or ne sai je que devenir/Puisque d'amer sui desirrans/[ELEISON]* 189
**Mo** 7,270: *Amours dont je sui espris/L'autrier au douz mois d'avril, main me levai/CHOSE TASSIN* 28, 95 n. 17, 152 n. 24
**Mo** 7,272: *Tres joliement me voell/Imperatrix supernorum/CIS A CUI JE SUI AMIE* 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
**Mo** 7,273: *Or voi je bien, qu'il mi/Eximium decus virginum/VIRGO* 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24
**Mo** 7,274: *Quant vient en mai, k'erbe va/Ne sai, que je die, tant voi/IOHANNE* 95 n. 16, 152 n. 24

**Mo** 7,275: *Iam nubes dissolvitur/Iam novum sydus oritur/SOLEM* 95 n. 16, 129, 154, 255–61, 267–8, 278 n. 32
**Mo** 7,277: *Coument se poet nul tenir/Se je chante mains que ne suell/QUI PRENDOIT A SON CUER* 95 n. 17, 188, 191, 192, 196
**Mo** 7,278: *Dieus, qui porroit, quant il vodroit/En grant dolour, en grant paour/APTATUR* 191, 192, 196
**Mo** 7,280 (Motetus = M881): *Qui amours veut maintenir/Li dous pensers, qui me vient/CIS A CUI JE SUI AMIE* 95 n. 15, 212–216, 218, 219
**Mo** 7,281 (triplum = M363): *Dame de valour et de bonté/Hé Dieus, quant je remir/AMO[RIS]* 152 n. 24, 212–6, 217, 219
**Mo** 7,282: *Anima mea liquefacta est/Descendi in [h]ortum meum/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* 17, 19, 161
**Mo** 7,289 (= **Mo** 8,338): *Amours, qui si me maistrie/Solem iusticie, leticie/SOLEM, see* **Mo** 8,338
**Mo** 7,290: *Nouvele amour m'a saisi/Haute amor m'a assalli/HÉ DAME JOLIE* 95 n. 17, 152 n. 24
**Mo** 7,291 (Motetus = M885): *Bien met Amours son pooir/Dame, alegiés ma grevance/A PARIS* 212–216
**Mo** 7,292: *De chanter me vient talens/Bien doi boine Amor loer/CHOSE TASSIN* 28, 162, 180
**Mo** 7,294: *Entre Jehan et Philippet/Nus hom ne puet desiervir/CHOSE TASSIN* 25–7, 28–9, 152 n. 24, 162, 163, 164, 166, 170, 180, 181
**Mo** 7,295: *Toutes voies m'a Amours assa[l]li/Trop ai de grieté pour cheli/JE LA TRUIS TROP ASPRETE* 189
**Mo** 7,296: *Boine amours mi fait chanter/Uns maus savereus et dous/PORTARE* 233, 237–42, 253
**Mo** 7,297: *Quant che vient en mai/Mout ai esté long[u]ement/CHOSE LOYSET* 28, 152 n. 24, 162 n. 5, 162, 180
**Mo** 7,298: *Lonc tans ai atendu le mierchi/Tant ai souffert en amant/SURREXIT* 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172 n. 29, 174 n. 33, 180, 181
**Mo** 7,299: *Pour chou que j'aim ma dame/Li joli tans, que je voi revenir/KYRIELEISON* 20, 96 n. 25, 152 n. 24, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 165 n. 11, 166, 170, 172 n. 24, 172 n. 25, 174 n. 34, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180 n. 42, 181, 183
**Mo** 7,300: *Salve, virgo virginum, salve, sancta parens/Salve, sancta parens/OMNES* 22, 23 n. 35
**Mo** 7,302: *Theoteca virgo geratica/Las, pour qoi l'eslonge tant/QUI PRANDOIT* 96 n. 25, 152 n. 24, 188, 196
**Mo** 8,303: *Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium II* 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 18, 66–8, 100–1, 113–119
**Mo** 8,304: *Alma virgo virginum/Benedicta es, Maria/[TENOR]* 9, 143, 269–82
**Mo** 8,305: *Mout ai longuement Amour/Li dous maus d'amer/PORTARE* 142, 149, 160, 161, 237–8, 242–6, 253, 280 n. 43
**Mo** 8,306: *O presul eximie/O virtutis speculum/SACERDOTEM* 142, 152, 159
**Mo** 8,307: *Dieus, comment porrai laissier/O regina glorie/NOBIS CONCEDAS [VENIAM PER SECULA] O BENIGNA* 25–7, 98 n. 33, 142, 160
**Mo** 8,308: *Audi, mater generosa/Imperatrix potentis gracie/NEUMA* 143, 271 n. 8
**Mo** 8,309 (triplum = M896): *Par une matinee, el moys joli d'avril/O clemencie/D'UN JOLI DART* 6 n. 24, 18, 94, 98 n. 33, 143, 211–219, 222, 223, 226, 227
**Mo** 8,310: *In sompnis, mira Dei nuncia monuerunt/Amours me commande et prie/IN SOMPNIS* 142, 148, 148 n. 17, 152, 152 n. 24, 156 n. 37, 160, 192
**Mo** 8,311: *Se je chante, ce fait Amour/Bien doi amer mon ami/ET SPERABIT* 5 n. 22, 98 n. 32, 142, 149, 160, 161, 187, 188, 192
**Mo** 8,312 (Motetus = M901): *Au tans nouvel, que naissent/Chele m'a tollu/J'AI FAIT TOUT NOUVELETEMENT* 5 n. 22, 94 n. 12, 143, 146, 146 n. 12, 151, 152, 159, 211–212, 219–26, 228–30
**Mo** 8,313: *L'autre jour me chevauchoie/L'autrier, joiant et joli/VILAIN LIEVE SUS O* 143, 146 n. 11
**Mo** 8,314: *Dieus, comment puet li cuers durer/Vo vair oel m'ont espris/TENOR* 140, 142, 160
**Mo** 8,315: *Porta preminentie/Porta penitentie/PORTAS* 23, 193, 143, 156 n. 37, 193, 278 n. 32

**Mo** 8,316: *Se je sui liés et chantans/Jolietement/OMNES* 142, 149, 160, 161, 162 n. 5, 193, 211
**Mo** 8,317: *Aucun, qui ne sevent servir/Iure tuis laudibus/[VIRGO] MARIA* 141, 142, 144, 149, 160, 161, 162 n. 5, 163, 164, 166–8, 170, 171, 172 n. 42, 172 n. 25, 174, 177, 179–81, 182, 206–10
**Mo** 8,318: *Tout solas et toute joie/Bone Amour, qui les siens doctrine et aprent/NE ME BLASMES MIE* 6 n. 24, 18, 30, 92, 93, 143, 147 n. 14
**Mo** 8,319: *On parole de batre et de vanner/A Paris soir et matin/FRESE NOUVELE MURE FRANCE MURE MURE FRANCE* 9, 26, 98 n. 33, 142, 148, 160, 283–96
**Mo** 8,320: *En mai, quant rosier florist/J'ai trouvé, qui m'amera/FIAT TENOR* 18, 92, 93, 143, 145, 201
**Mo** 8,321: *De mes amours sui souvent repentis/L'autrier m'estuet venue volenté/DEFORS COMPIEGNE* 18, 98 n. 33, 143, 146, 146 n. 12, 152 n. 24, 159, 212
**Mo** 8,322: *Marie assumptio/Huius chori suscipe cantica/TENOR* 22, 23 n. 35, 45–52, 142, 147 n. 15, 152 n. 24, 159
**Mo** 8,323: *Li savours de mon desir/Li grant desirs, qui j'ai de recouvrer/NON VEUL MARI* 45–52, 92 n. 7, 141 n. 5, 143
**Mo** 8,324: *Quant se depart li jolis tans/Hé, cuer joli!/IN SECULUM* 45–52, 92 n. 7, 143, 145 n. 6, 187
**Mo** 8,325: *S'on me regarde/Prennés i garde/HÉ, MI ENFANT* 6 n. 24, 45–52, 143, 147 n. 14
**Mo** 8,326: *Benedicta Marie virginis/Beate virginis/BENEDICTA. TENOR* 45–52, 97 n. 29, 143, 145, 156 n. 37
**Mo** 8,327: *Per omnia secula seculorum, Maria/Per omnia seculorum, secula virgo/PER OMNIA SECULA* 45–52, 143, 156 n. 37
**Mo** 8,328: *Amor potest conqueri/Ad amorem sequitur/TENOR* 45–52, 140, 142, 148, 156 n. 37, 160, 195–6
**Mo** 8,329: *Ave, mundi gaudium/Ave, salus hominum/APTATUR. TENOR* 45–52
**Mo** 8,330: *Virginale decus et presidium/Descendi in [h]ortum meum/ALMA [REDEMPTORIS MATER]* 17–19, 22, 45–52, 93, 94, 142, 149, 160, 161, 162 n. 5
**Mo** 8,331: *Descendo Dominus/Ascendendo Dominus/DOMINO* 45–52, 143
**Mo** 8,332: *Je cuidoie bien metre/Se j'ai folement amé/SOLEM* 187, 188, 143, 255, 261–8
**Mo** 8,333: *Amours m'a pris; deffendre ne me doi/Bien me maine bone Amour/RIENS NE VOUS VAUT* 143
**Mo** 8,334: *A maistre Jehan lardier/Pour la plus jolie/ALLELUYA* 24–7, 141 n. 5, 142, 152, 159
**Mo** 8,335: *Cis a petit de bien en li/Pluseur dient, que j'aim par amours/PORTARE* 142, 152 n. 24, 159, 246–53
**Mo** 8,336: *Puisqu'en amer loiaument me sui mis/Quant li jolis tans doit entrer/IN SECULUM* 18, 92 n. 2, 143, 145 n. 6
**Mo** 8,337: *Dame, que je n'os noumer/Amis, donc est engenree/LONC TANS A QUE NE VI M'AMIE* 124 n. 11, 143, 219
**Mo** 8,338 (= **Mo** 7,289): *Amours, qui si me maistrie/Solem iusticie, leticie/SOLEM* 9, 18, 92–4, 123–4, 125, 129–36, 142, 149, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 172 n. 24, 173, 176–81, 255, 278 n. 32
**Mo** 8,339: *Alle psallite cum luya/Alle psallite cum luya/ALLELUYA* 17, 18, 21–3, 49 n. 63, 125, 127–8, 133–6, 143
**Mo** 8,340: *Balam inquit vaticinans/Balam inquit vaticinans/BALLAAM* 18, 21–3, 124–7, 130 n. 25, 133–6, 142, 148, 151, 154, 156 n. 37, 157 n. 39, 160, 187, 194–6, 201
**Mo** 8,341: *Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica/Huic ut placuit, tres magi mistica/[HUIC MAGI]* 18, 21–3, 124–7, 130 n. 25, 133–6, 142, 148, 151, 154, 156 n. 37, 157 n. 39, 160, 187, 194–6, 201
**Mo** 8,342: *Qui d'amours n'a riens gousté/Tant me plaist Amour servir/VIRGA YESSE* 49 n. 63, 92 n. 7, 125, 128–9, 133–6, 142, 147, 148, 152 n. 24, 159
**Mo** 8,343: *Virginis eximie celebrantur/N[o]stra salus oritur/CERNERE* 22, 23 n. 35, 125, 130–6, 143, 278 n. 32
**Mo** 8,344: *O castitatis lilium/Assumpta in gloria/KYRIELEISON* 143
**Mo** 8,345: *La bele estoile de mer/La bele, en qui/IOHANNE. TENOR* 3, 6, 17–20, 92, 93, 94, 124 n. 10, 143

# Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Machaut's Music: New Interpretations
*edited by Elizabeth Eva Leach*

The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain
*Kenneth Kreitner*

The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs:
Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe
*edited by Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García*

Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture:
Learning from the Learned. Essays in Honour of Margaret Bent
*edited by Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach*

European Music, 1520–1640
*edited by James Haar*

Cristóbal de Morales:
Sources, Influences, Reception
*edited by Owen Rees and Bernadette Nelson*

Young Choristers, 650–1700
*edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice*

Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book:
The St Emmeram Codex and its Contexts
*Ian Rumbold with Peter Wright*

Medieval Liturgical Chant and Patristic Exegesis:
Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts
*Emma Hornby*

Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music during the Spanish Golden Age
*Clive Walkley*

Essays on Renaissance Music in Honour of David Fallows:
*Bon jour, bon mois et bonne estrenne*
*edited by Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel*

Music and Ceremony at the Court of Charles V:
The *Capilla Flamenca* and the Art of Political Promotion
*Mary Tiffany Ferer*

Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants:
Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles
*Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy*

Music in Elizabethan Court Politics
*Katherine Butler*

Verse and Voice in Byrd's Song Collections of 1588 and 1589
*Jeremy L. Smith*

The Montpellier Codex (Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque universitaire de médecine, H. 196) occupies a central place in scholarship on medieval music. This small book, packed with gorgeous gold leaf illuminations, historiated initials, and exquisite music calligraphy, is one of the most famous of all surviving music manuscripts, fundamental to understandings of the development of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century polyphonic composition. At some point in its history an eighth section (fascicle) of 48 folios was appended to the codex: when and why this happened has long perplexed scholars. The forty-three works contained in the manuscript's final section represent a collection of musical compositions, assembled at a complex moment of historical change, straddling the historiographical juncture between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

This book provides the first in-depth exploration of the contents and contexts of the Montpellier Codex's final fascicle. It explores the manuscript's production, dating, function, and notation, offering close-readings of individual works, which illuminate compositionally progressive features of the repertoire as well as its interactions with existing musical and poetic traditions, from a variety of perspectives: thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music, art history, and manuscript culture.

**CATHERINE A. BRADLEY** is Associate Professor at the University of Oslo.
**KAREN DESMOND** is Assistant Professor of Music at Brandeis University.

Contributors: Rebecca A. Baltzer, Edward Breen, Sean Curran, Rachel Davies, Margaret Dobby, Mark Everist, Anna Kathryn Grau, Solomon Guhl-Miller, Oliver Huck, Anne Ibos-Augé, Eva M. Maschke, David Maw, Dolores Pesce, Alison Stones, Mary E. Wolinski

Cover image: Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque universitaire de médecine, H. 196, fol. 350r (photo: BIU Montpellier/DIAMM, University of Oxford).

Cover design by Workhaus

*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*

GENERAL EDITORS: Tess Knighton (ICREA - IMF/CSIC, Barcelona)
Helen Deeming (Royal Holloway, University of London)

BOYDELL PRESS
an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF (GB) and
668 Mt Hope Ave, Rochester NY 14620-2731 (US)

ISBN 978-1-78327-272-3
9 781783 272723
www.boydellandbrewer.com